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Polonen, John



The title page is framed by an elaborate border. At the top, two soldiers in armor are shown firing long-barreled guns. In the center, a circular medallion features a knight in armor holding a sword, with a shield bearing a cross and fleur-de-lis. Below this, a large, draped banner contains the main text. To the left of the banner, a soldier stands holding a large drum. To the right, another soldier is depicted. At the bottom, a central oval vignette shows a chaotic battle scene with soldiers on horseback and on foot. The entire page is decorated with intricate scrollwork and floral patterns.

All the famous Battels
that haue bene fought in our age
throughout the world, as well
by sea as lande, set forth at large,
liuely described, beautified, and en-
riched with sundry eloquent De-
clarations, and the declarations of the
causes, with the fruites of them.
Collected out of sundry good Au-
thors, whose names are expres-
sed in the next Page.

IMPRINTED AT LONDON
by Henrie Bynnenan,
& Francis Coldcock.

*Authors from whence this
vvorke is selected.*

J Onius, Bothe the *Gucciardines*, *Natalis Comes*,
Popelliniere, *Bizari*, *Patten*, and other the most ap-
proued Historiographers, that haue best blased these
matters, beginning at the Battell of *Torre*, in *Anno*
Domini. 1495. where *Iouius* and Francis *Gucciard*
dine begin their Hystories, and continuing vntill the
famous Battel of *Lepanto*, in *Anno*. 1572. where the
Turkishe power was discomfited on the Sea vnder
the conducte of *Don Iohn of Austria*, collected by
Iohn Polemon.

TO THE RIGHT HO-
norable, Christopher Hatton, Captaine
of the Qucenes Maiesties Garde attending
vpon hir most royall person, Vicechamber-
laine to hir Highnesse, and one of hir Maiesties
most honourable prauis
Counsell.



Y especiall trust is, that
your Honour will pardon
my boldnesse, in making
you patrone of this worke:
which when I had caused
my friende to collect, and
translate out of sundrie approued Authors,
and thought that it coulede not but generally
delight all Noblemen and Gentlemen of
this Realme, I weyghed with my selfe what
perticular personage was meetest to be pre-
sented therewith: At length, remembring
your Honor, and considering not onely what
roume you are placed in, but also with what
valiant and noble minde you are endowed: I
chose you before others, being glad that I had
A.ij. so

THE EPISTLE.

*So fit a worke to dedicate vnto so worthie a
Patrone. Beseeching your Honor to accept of
this signe of good will and loyall entēt. I need
not commend the worthinesse of the worke,
or the true setting downe of euerye Battell
therein contained: eche Author hath his se-
uerall title where he is inserted, according to
the course of the Historie, whose credit shall
sufficientlye commend their Description.
Wherefore I cease, wishing vnto you Galens
health, Croesus wealth, and Næstors
yeares, with increase of honour, and the at-
tainement of perfect felicitie.*

Your Honors most ready
at commaundement,

HENRY BYNNEMAN.

The battell fought in Anno
Domini. 1495. at Tarro in Italy, not
farre from Parma, betveene Charles the
French King, the eight of that name, and the
Venetians and Milanese, vnder the conduct
of the Marques of
Mantua.



Aximilian the Emperoure,

Ferdinande the King of Spayne, the State
of Venice, Leuues Duke of Milan, and A-
lexander the Bishop of Rome, beinge stre-
ken into feare with the rare felicitie of
Charles the French King, who had with-
out wound conquered the riche Realme
of Naples: about the first of Aprill in An-
no. 1495. made a solemne league be-

twene them, wpth these conditions, that with one consente, and
common charge, they should set forthe so greate a power both by
Sea and land, as should be thought sufficient to defend their com-
mon safetie. And for the furnishing of this exploit, the Spanyard
had sent a strong flecte into Sicile with siue thousand footemen,
and sixe hundred Horsemen: the Venetians had rigged forthe a
flecte of fortie Gallies, and also for a supplement of their power
by lande, had tyed a great number of light Horsemen in Epyrus,
Macedonia, and Peloponesus: the Milanese leuied souldiours in Ger-
manie, the Emperoure promised to descende hymselfe into Italy
with an manieable army of Almaynes. But the French K. being
much moued with this vnlooked for conspiracie of those Princes, &
which although it was said to be cōcluded only to defend theselues,
yet he knowing it was stricken against him, thought it best being
then in Naples, speedely to returne vnto Rome, and from thence into
Lombardie, meaning by his suddayne coming, to discourage the
vnprouided Pope from his intended purpose: wherefore leauing

The Battell of Tarro.

the rest of hys power bestowed in garrisons in most opportune places of the Kyngdome of Naples, marched towardes Rome wyth foure thousande Horsemen, as well men of armes, as lyght Horsemen, besides the ordinarie retinue that the men of armes doe accustomedly drayne with them, and about eyght thousand footemen of Switzers, Almaines, and Gascoignes, besides a sufficient furniture of great ordnance, and namely of field peeces. With this power he entred Rome without resistance, (the Byshop and hys Cardinals being fearefully fledde.) But when he was come vnto Pisa, he had intelligence that Lewes the Duke of Orleans (whome in hys expedition vnto Naples, he hadde willed to remayne at Asti, in the frontiers of Piemont, with a strong band of Horsemen, and also hauing heard of this league of the Princes, hadde commaunded to leue Souldyers in all places nere aboutes,) had taken Nonara, a Citie belonging vnto the Duchie of Milan. The taking whercof, made Lewes the Duke of Milan very earnestly to desire the Venetians speedely to sette forth a power, seeing he coulde not in that iniquitie of tyme obteyne presente ayde of any other of the confederates to stay vppon hys staggering state. The which the Venetians dyd both gladly graunte, and speedely accomplishe: they army being within fewe dayes in the fildes, at the banke of the Riuer of Oglio, the Generall whercof they created Frauncis Gonzaga, Marques of Mantoa, a lustie yong Gentleman, desirous to serue in the warres, and wunne renolune: with whome they ioynd accordyng to theyr manner, two Venetians Lieutenantes, or Prouiditori, Melior Creusino, and Luke Pisano.

In the meane tyme the King halsted wyth greate iourneys to passe the Appennine Mountaynes, and to iorne wyth the Duke of Orleans before the power of hys enimies (whych he hadde intelligence were leued in all quarters, and passed the Po) were come vnto the streightes of the Appennine. Troublesome and paynesfull was the carriage of hys ordnanee downe vnto Burgo from the steepe Mountaynes, where the worked Horses coulde not drayne them, for the sheuing and winding of the wayes, but the Souldyers were forced to transport them wyth theyr handes and shoulers, and euery Horseman to carrie a pellet of fiftie pounde weyght

The Battell of Tarro.

3

weyght before hym on the pommel of his Saddle. From Burgo they beganne at the length to come downe into a broader way, whiche leadeth to Foronouo, and sente before the Marshall Gien leader of the vantage, wyth a strong bande of Horsemen and footemen, and wyth hym Antony Basse, the Collonell of the Switzers, and James Trivulzi a Milanes, to take by a place at Foronouo for the armye to encampe in.

The Kyng vsed Trivulzi as it were for hys guyde, and reposed greate trust in hys counsell, both for hys singular knowledge in martiall affayres, and in the Countrey, and also for the olde eninitie betwene hym and the Duke of Milan, whome he continually soughte to annoy vnto hys uttermost, whereby he grew afterwarde to wonderfull riches, and greate martiall glory, to the destruction of all Italy.

Rowe was the Marques of Mantoa (wyth whome had ioy-
ned the Earle of Glazza wyth the power of Milan) at Glareola, a Village on the farther banke of the Riuer of Tarro, in a place verve commodious, not onely to brydle the Parmesanes, if they shoulde attempte to reuolte, but also to be a sure garde to the fortresses nere aboutes, and finally if the Kyng woulde marche on forwarde that way, to sette vppon wyth all the Venetian power in a place of greate aduantage, hys vantage as it came downe the hyl.

In thys meane tyme whylest the Frenchmen approached vnto Foronouo, Gonzaga hauing intelligence by spyes of their conning, sente the lyghte Horsemen before, the chiefest conduct of them beeing assigned vnto Nicholas Annonio, a Sclauon, a verve valiaunte manne, to stay the Frenchmen by skirmishing wyth them, vntill hee were come wyth the strength of the meane of armes, and the lyghte bandes of the footemen.

They valiauntly doe hys commaundemente, and suddayne-lye geyng a charge vppon their enmyes, disordered them on all sydes, and manye beeing slayne and taken, and also one Crowne gotten, forced them verve fearefully to turne backe, before that the meane of armes, and the ayde of the footemenne coulde come, whych foyle happened vnto the Frenchmen, because

B. y.

they

The Battell of Tarro.

they were not acquainted with their manner of fyghte : for when the frenchmen with a certaine seruour of fyghte, did more egrely pursue the Greeces, at once both courageously charging, and also with great arte fleeing backe, and thereby did breake their array : the Greeces did suddaynely againe returre into the fight, and then many of them and light, did set on the frenchmen, being disperseed one from another, and laden with armour, and also vnwarelye flouing forward, and so easely beate them downe wyth their hooked and very heauie Turkish swords or matoles of yron. Gonzaga seeing the Horsemen wearied with a long and paynefull iourney, reuoked them from pursuing of the enemies vnto their Campe : and contented with this good successe, returned vnto the army, all his men being very ioyfull, and manye bearing the heads of the frenchmen vpon their Launces.

Among the Prisoners was there taken one Ante, a Captayne of a band of Switzers, a man wel knownen before tyme to y^e Earle of Glazza. He politikelly lying, did augment the nūber of the french Horsemen and footemen that were in the auantgarde, for to feare the Italians from oppressing them, who had overboldly marched before their felowes, and also falsely affirmed that the King wyth the middle battell, and Seigneur de Tremouille with the reerwarde, were not farre off, the which lye doubtlesse saued Marshall Gien, who distrusting the small number of his Souldiers, and they also disordered with the skirmishe, had got him into an high place, that there in his camp defended by all meanes he coulede, he might stay for the King, vntill he followed after slowly. But when thys occasion of destroying the auantgard did seeme vnto some to bee offered as a meane to obtayne afterwarde an absolute victorie of the King, the Marques of Mantua was of the mind, that nothing ought to be then attempted, but in any case the rest of the Kings power was to be stayed for, that when the King their enemy were in sight, they mighte more safely and nobly fight with hys whole power in a pitched field: for the Italian army did excede them in number, and it seemed that they woulde also haue overmatched them in the battell, if that fortune had not sayled them, who shamefully swarued from the discipline of their auncestours.

Thus

Thus the King hauing gotten the space of the whole nexte daye, and tynely ouertaking the bauntgard, encamped at Foronno. Betwene the two Campes ranne the river of Tarro, whyche falling down violently fro the steepe Appenine Mountaynes into y enclosed valleys beneath, with a rocky and vnequall Chamnell, at length hauing gotten the open fields, runneth into the Po. The Venetians encamped on the left side on the broader banke of the Riuer, not farre from the Village Appiano, in the lower ground: but the Frenchmen on the right, hauing on their lefte hande the Towne Medefano, and being on the higher bylles, they myghte easely see the Camp of their enemies, which by reason of the great number of tentes pitched round about, gaue a shew vnto the eyes of the wondering Frenchmen of a very great army.

When the King saw himselfe and his army brought into suche a place, as out whereof there was no hope left to escape, vnlesse victorie became his guide: to assay the intents and mindes of the Prouditori, he sente an Herald to request of them truce for certaine dayes. For Hercules the Duke of Ferrara, fauoring the engrafted lingering of the Prouditori, had a little before written for a most certaynetie, (thereby to stay the stomackes of the King, and the French Captaynes all dismayde with that vnlooked for martiall prouision and furniture of their enemies) that neyther the Prouditori, nor his sonne in lawe the Marques, had any authoritie or commission from the Senate to fyghte a generall battell. The Herald being brought vnto the Prouditori and Captaynes, saide, that his maister did greatly wonder, that the Venetians, whome he had not prouoked by any iniurie, were come with suche a power of warlike menue to impeache his returne into France, that his Maestie did request, according vnto the iust lawe of nations, that with truce they would help his army, as it traauled, with victuals for money, and suffer them with quiet iourney to passe into France: if they would thus doe, then his maestie was to giue greate thanks vnto the Seigniorie of Venice and their Captaynes, but if they would not, then the French Souldiours would not onely open a way for themselves by true prowesse, but also make a causey for they King wyth the slayne carcasses of the

The Battell of Tarro.

withstanders. To whome aunswere was made in fewe words, if that King Charles woulde abandon hys counsels and purposes of conquering Italy, and withdraue his garrisons out of Ostia (the Hauen of Rome) and Nouria, and marche without doyng of anye hurte, he shoulde haue free passage to goe his way, but if he neglected so to do, then also the Venetians woulde not neglect the iniuries done vnto theyr alies, and as they were bounde by the league, pursue wth sword the publike enimie of all Italy. The Heralde who had curiously viewed almost all things in the Italian Camp, being returned vnto the King, tolde many thyngs wofully and fearefully of the scituation and munition of their Camp, of the number, the furniture, and cherefulness of the Italian Souldyers: in so much that the King hymselfe, and manye of the Captaynes, as men attached with a supreme care, seemed to doubt of the safetie of themselves, and of all the armie, for in discoursing and consulting, some were of the minde, that it were best to returne backe vnto Pisa, and being ioynd with the Florentines, chose the seate for the warres in Toscan: Other hauing no regard of dishonour, counselled speedely to crosse the vales of the Appenine, and hast to Assi, leauing behinde them both cariages and ordnance: the rest willed no consideration to be hadde of the Duke of Orleans, but the King to componde with the enimie, who dyd ouermatche them in all thyngs, so that they myghte thereby assuredly prouide for the safetie of the King and hys whole armie. Finally there were fewe, who thought that the life and libertie of the King was rashly to be putte into the daunger of vnequall fyghte, when there was no man founde that beeyng more wofull for the Kings safetie, than for his owne, was not of the opinion, that the cument of the battell woulde be farre worse than all other things: in somuch that they seemed vnable eyther to fynde ende to theyr aduices, or assured meane to saue the armie in that daunger. But then they reporte that Trivulzi, on whome specially all mens eyes were cast, dyd wth the great expectation of all menne speake in this manner. They that doe consulte of the doubtfull chaunces of warfare at suche tyme as perill is present, ought to fetch that one way and meane, both of safetie and also of victorie, which is only
left

left from stoutnesse of courage, & fearelesse hearte, for when force both most vze in a matter, and there is most neede both of stoute aduice and couragious aduenture, there a man to abate his stomacke, & dismisse his minde, and to be attainted wth feare, is both shamefull, and also most times pernicious: but yet the same seemeth to be muche more dishonorable & vntimely, when that by ouer woefully weighing and pondering the perils, we do make and imagine them to be greater & worse thā they are indeede. Diuers that haue spoken before me, graue men, and (whych byndeth greater credite vnto their words) very couragious and valiaunt warriours, haue doubted, and that too very vehemently, of the safetie of you, most inuincible Soueraigne, and of your whole army: that is to witte, by rehearsing what penurie of thyngs and famine do hang ouer both men and Horses, what asperities of places, what streights doe hinder our iourney, and pull from valiant mē the vse of prowesse: and finally what kinde, and how great an armye of oure enemies do foreshutte and stoppe the wayes agaynst vs, beinge fewe in number, and weryed with the toyle of so great a iourney, that we may not by any meanes escape, so that it is better to trye all other wayes, than wth despayred victorie by contending wth force, to hazard the whole, as though (as it liketh some,) that to the ende we may escape vnto the safe Alpes, the most noble and alwayes victorious King should take a most dishonorable and lamentable iourney ouer the Mountaynes of Liguria, (all the baggage of the army, and the great ordinance being by secrete and shamefull flighte left behinde for oure enemies:) or else that we turne oure backs towards the, and returne againe vnto Pisa, that anone after our enemies environing vs both by sea & land, we beinge tained by famine and perloed, may be a laughing stocke vnto y^e whole world. Neither also do I like of the aduice y^e your Maiestie should by a shamefull repositioⁿ obtaine of your armed enemies a safe returne into France. For by what other faith shall we assure ourselues all thyngs to be peaceable, thā by y^e selfesame wherby euen now they so impudently brake y^e late leagues? But in this let vs credite the perfidious, for they also do somtyme vse to keepe their faith quē y^e they may afterward deceiue moze timely & with greater gaue. By this unhappie

couenanting are not so many valiaunt men that do nobly defende the kingdome of Naples, beyng destitute of all hope of help, forsaken, and also betrayed vnto their most cruell enemies: and if the garrison be withdrauen out of Nouara, shal not the course that is begun to a more ample victorie be vtterly interrupted and cut off? Doubtlesse I see, that the same one only counsell is both safe and honorable, whiche dothe seme vnto other most hard and daungerous, namely, that abandoning all thought of peace or flighte, wee make vs a way with our swords: Neither bycause that I do promise that in the successe all things will be easie for you, nor do despaire of the victorie, would I seme to foresee in mind more than the rest, and more arrogantly to foresee the whole euent of this instant matter, for this may be graunted not vnto my witte, but vnto my practise in warfare, and experience of Italian affayres, sith that for the space of these many yeares, I haue bin presente in all the warres of Italy, whereby it was not hard for me abundantly to learne the counsels, mindes, artes, and the verie discipline, both of the Princes, and also the Captaines and souldyers thereof: all which things haue at the length with my often not obscure perils, so taught and instructed me, that they haue made me neyther, foolishly hardie, nor altogether fearefull. First of all will not I beleue that whiche doth so vehemently feare their hartes, that are moued with the greatenesse of the daunger, that is, that the Venetians will of their owne accorde bidde vs battell, for besides that ye vnderstand by the letters of certaine, that the Licutenantes and Captaynes haue no commission from the Senate to fight, who will beleue that a people of nature giuen long to linger and draw forth warres, will for an other mans cause, without any their necessitie, hazard all their power in a pitched fiede: for it is toos foolish for a common wealth that doth flourish in euerslasting wise Counsellours, and riches that cannot bee consumed, to couet gay triumphes by a doubtfull and bloody battell, when they may, and not rashly looke for the mature and certain victorie of the vniuersall warres, that are not feared with the great charges of them. Neither indeede do I thinke that Lewes Sforza, a man of nature fearefull, suspitious, and very wary, dothe earnestly labour

The Battell of Tarro.

9

bour by his secret counsel, to haue the french power quite destroyed by the Venetians. For what other ende will there come of that victorie (which God forsende) than y^e the Duchie of Milan become a bootie vnto the Venetian victor, which they by inuading and tearing with impotent armes, haue alwayes with singular couetousnesse desired: But admitte that Lewes will do nothing to day as a wise and wary man, and that the Venetians by a new and suddayne counsel wil committe the Empire of Italy to the arbitrement of doubtfull Mars: is there any doubt therfore (courageous Soueraigne Charles) to be made of the victorie: let bayne feares departe from valiant heartes, seeing that all things that euer good Chiefetaine doth wish to haue when he shall fight, do promise vnto vs vndoubted hope of good successe. Firste of all, a cause passing good, faithfull and olde Souldyers, greate store of ordinance, a very indifferent place, and finally regarde of none other thing, but common safetie and glory. The prowesse of the Italian Souldyers here to day neyther do I debase nor extoll, for I should do fondly or impudently, if I should utter my iudgement thereof, so that keeping still my shamefastnesse vnuolated, I doubt not to confesse and affirme this one thing, that we shal deale with an army of fresh water Souldiers, and of *Omnigatherum*: for the greatestt part of those horsemen whom we see glistering in their crestes and armour, haue neuer put on armour before, but at a pompe, when that armes were mustered, and in sporting lightes and shewes: nor euer heard sound of Trumpet: for indeede, there haue bin no warres in Italy these many yeares, nor no iust and bloudy battell foughten: but the footemen will not only not susteyne the force of the Almanyn^e Esquadron, but being inferiour both in armour, weapons, and courage, will not abide so much as the sight of them, comming vpon them with so great order and array. When there remaineth that we do greatly feare the artes and suttle policies of some olde beaten Chiefetaine. Alas what ambushe will he lay, or with what array will he bring forth his army through the incommodious fordes of the rough riuer, to invade vs marching in array of battell: a spiritgall Chiefetaine that neuer saue Campe of Souldyers besides this of hys owne, wherevnto he is preferred rather for the title of

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his

The Battell of Tarro.

his name, than for merite of tryed prowesse: Therefore mine opinion is (inmurable King) that we marche on still forwarde as we haue begun, and your maiestie shall doe well, if that you do adhort the Souldyers not to doubt of the euent of the battell, and to contemne their enemies. The baggage of the army being sente alway a little distance from the armed ranks on the left hande towards the hilles, woulde I purposely obiect to be ryled by the cannie, who is more greedy of pillage than of fight. On the ryghte hande towardes the ryuer, let the greates ordinance be placed agaynst the enemies. I with my college Gien will leade the fore warde, and the way, and bearing nearest to daunger, wyll valiantly endeavour, that it nothing repent youre hyghnesse to haue folloved this counsell: the rest of the martiall charges lette the Captaynes (and specially the auxient) parte amongst them, and lette them marche forward vnto victorie with the armye prepared for both chaunces of battell and trauayle: for neyther their wonted vertue, nor youre fortune shall faile them, who being made noble by perpetuall victories, haue learned to fight valiantly, yea, and if it were but for only glory.

After that Trivulzi had pronounced this Oracion, with a countenance full of confidence, no man almost seemed (although in some of their heartes feare were settled) which did not cherefully assent to his sentence, and swore that they woulde not departe the fildes but victors. Then Charles disposing hys Horsemen, to repressse from all partes the Greekes, who almost euery houre with great cryes, stirred by sundry tumultes in his Camp, and watching almost the whole night, the next morow as sone as it was sayre day, brake his fast, and commaunded the Souldyers to doe the same, and to prepare both their bodyes and hartes as well to fight, as to march forward: and not long after he being cladde rather in strong, than sayre armour, mounted on Horsebacke, enuironed with seauent poyntes like vnto him selfe. As he set forward, the Souldyers saluted him with so cherefull voices and gesture, that they interrupted him when he began to encourage the: beseeching hym to haue no doubt of the victorie, whiche they had

not

The Battell of Tarro.

11

now in their hands. For when he was on Horsebacke, he seemed to be taller and more lively than he was indeed: for of nature he was a very little man, and by reason of his olde disease, weake, and not strong legged to goe on foote, but then he looked lyke vnto a valiant and fearelesse Souldioure, for his face, eyes, and specially his halowkes beked nose. There guarded him on both sides two companies of noble Horsemenne, with whome were intermingled the guard of Scottes. Hoesuer, Mathew y^e bastard of Burbon, in whom the kynge reposed very greate trust, and Robinet Framesiell, the valiant conductor of the Duke of Orleans his men of armes, circumscribed him with theyr companies of Horsemen, one on the right side, and the other on the left. There followed aboute a two furlongs behinde them, the thirde and the last battell, the conduct whereof had Foix, a noble man of Guien, and Seigneur de Trimouille, who afterward for his great actes, became a renowned Chiefcapayne. With them was a great power of excellent Horsemen. But in y^e vanguard were seene the Squadrons of the Switzers and Almaynes, their chiefeest hope and strength, and the great ordinance. The Marshall Gien and Trivulzi marched before with a companie of light Horsemen, to shew the way vnto them that followed. An arrow shot behinde them followed the Switzers and Almaynes, to whome their Colonels Gilbert of Cleue, and Antony Bassiey, men skilfull of their tungs, had promised in the kings name treble pay, if that they saued the king by their faithfull and valiant handes.

With them on the left hand were ioined the Gascoignes, Archiballistes, and almost three hundred archers of the garde, who thorough vnlucky counsell, had sent away theyr Horses, and marched on foote, that they might shoote the more strongly. But the greatesse ordinance being drawn with equall pace close to the battallion of the footemen, were placed againste the river, and the battels of their enemies. The drugges of the army, and all the rascall rable marched with the baggage towards the helles on the left hand: but the Marques who hadde determined if the Frenchmen hadde bent on the left hand towards Medesano, which was the way vnto Dertono, to pursue them on the backe with all his power: when he sawe them bent doone from Foronono in array of

battell,

The Battell of Tarro.

battell, thinking it not good any longer to stay, using the counsell of olde Souldoyers, aranged his battels in this order.

All his whole host was deuided into nine battels, the number of his mē were aboute two thousand four hundred men of armes, a few lesse than two thousand lighte Horsemen, and about twelue thousand footemen.

In the first battell was Peter Dodo a venetian with sixe hundred Greeke Horsemen, and Alesso Beicacuto with almost so many Archers on Horsebacke, who did not use bowes of woode as did the Frenchmen, but crossebowes of yron. To them it was enioyned to compasse the hylls on the backe of their enemies, and to charge the left side of the vanguard, and by skirmishing, to stay the marching Frenchmen from their intended iourney.

In the seconde battell was the Earle of Giazza with the powder of Milan for this consideration, that as soone as Trivulzi and Gien were encountering with the lighte Horsemen, he vpon the ryghte side should set vpon them, being then occupied and troubled. That battell consisted of sixe hundred men of armes, and three thousand Almaine and Italian footemen. The Generall hymselfe calling to him his Uncle Radulph, and Ranuccio Farnesi, with aboute fye hundred men of armes, & so many archers, & foure thousand footemen, took vpon him y charge to encounter the middle battel, wherein was the King. But the fourth battell to charge the reerward, was assigned vnto Fortebraccio de Montoni. Also three battels of succoure were appoynted with very good order indeede, but with a very shamefull euent, so that Antonie de Feltri the bastard of Urbine, should timely ayde the Generall, when the signall shoulde be giuen: Aniball Bentiuogli, & Galeazzo Pallavicini when neede required, should follow the Earle of Giazza: and finally Lewes Adoucato, and Fraunces Gambaro, Bressans, and Soncino Beazono a Cremonese, should attend vpon Montoni. The reason why these battels of succour were ordeined was this: that when enery battell of the Frenchmen being entangled with their owne perill, could not succour the nexte being in distresse, they shoulde all of them be at one tyme beaten downe almost from all partes.

The eyght and ninth battell were placed a little farther off, for
an ayde

The Battell of Tarro.

13

an ayde against all uncertaine chances. But Taliano Pio, & Charles Meliteo were left with the rest of the armye to guard the Campe. Moreover, the maisters of the great ordinance were commaunded to plant their ordinance in a long ranke on the banke of the Riuer of Tarro, in as commodious places as coulde be prouided by martiall arte.

When the battels were thus sette in aray, the Marques returned vnto the Prouiditori, who albeit they being suspended with very weightie care, iudged it contrarie vnto the reason and trade of their common wealth, to dareyne battell, yet suche was the cheerefulnessse of the host, singularly well arrauinged, and appoynted to fighte, that nolve it repented them of their ouerwarpy counsell, and were thoroughly filled both with ioy, and assured hope of victorie. Neither was ther any man honourable, either for his age, or martiall dignitie, that then durst consult with cunctation and suspense, whether the battell were to be aduentured, or openly to make any doubt of obteynning the victorie: for most of the fresh water Souldiers being lifted by by a certaine hote desire to fight, and a trust reposed in their strength, were so lustie, that if they hearde any men speake somewhat warely, or considerately in that daunger of the whole state, they openly rayled vpon him with manie reprochful wordes, and called them braue backes, and fearful dardes. And it happened, that whē Radulph Gonzago sayd, that he thought the place would be incommodious for them to fighte in, and therefore would haue had it first made euen and lenell, he was straightwayes malapertly stroffed at by Mario Caluisano a goodly lustie youth, and one in greate fauoure with the Marques: for he tolde him with vnrerend speche, that they which were so greatly afrayde of their skynne, might do well immediately to get them thence, and shrowde themselves warely within the walles of Parma. I pray God, (quoth Radulph then) that these folishe hardie kill-sowe princiores, do valiantly folloio me, piercing into the middes of the enimies, for they shall receyue the strokes not of painted and trifling-bain stanes, as they do at games, but fele of the strōg and sturdy Steele. God graunte we maie embzue these braue cas-sacks and contes, rather with our enimies, than with cure swate

The Battell of Tarro.

bloud. Radulph indeede was the true and the best Judge and valure of forraigne warfare: for from his childhode he had bin one of the Henchmen of Charles the Duke of *Burgoigne*, and was present at those thre last battels, in whiche he beryng at length banquished, lost hys martiall power, whyche befoze was feared of all men, and hys Duchie, togyther wyth hys life.

In the meane tyme, when the Frenchmen now dyeloe nere, and the Souldyers were excited vnto the battell by the often thunder of the great ordynance, the Marques turning hymselfe vnto the Licutenantes, sayde: If you thynke it for the behoefe of the common weale, that we doe valiantly brydle the folishe hardinesse of the Frenchmenne, whiche wyth barbarous vanitie doe promise themselves the Emperre of all *Italy*: we must not long consulte, but nowe when the fyffe and Trumpettes of oure enemies do call vs, we must out of hande vende oure heartes to fyghte: for if by lingering we shall lette oure enemies escape out of our handes, we shall not fynde hereafter so good an occasion to oppresse him, and shall in vayne pursue hym beryng lycht and vncumbrd, and wyth wastung all the Countrey halting through the painefull and blinde pathes to succoure his people at *Nouara*: I for my part if ye shall commaunde it, will lette the Seigniorie of *Venice* to vnderstande my seruice, and will stretch all my strength of body and minde, to shewe that the auncient honor is not take from the Italian Souldour by forraigne nations, and that thorough oure valiauntie, a most renowned victorie may be gotten of the proude enemye for you *Venetians*, the true and assured setters at libertie of the dignitie of *Italy*. Therevnto, (hys college also assentynge) thus answered *Triuifano*: Go to (most valiant Generall) sayng that you doe testifie wyth surpassing courage, so singular a good wyll towardes the *Venetian* name, and that the honor of sauing *Italy* doth inflame you to winne the fruite of euerlasting prayse, commaunde the battell to be sounded (the whyche I pray God may be good and fortunate vnto the Seigniorie of *Venice*, and their confederated felowes) turne the arraunged battels against the enemies, and endeour by vanquishing valiauntly, that youre house renowned for the perpetuall glistering of aunciente glorie, maye be made to shyne more brighte

brighte through the honorable title of a newe victorie. And without anye more tarriance at one tyme, the Drummes, Trumpettes and greate ordnance beganne to sounge, and the battells arraunged in suche order as we haue declared, made towarde the enimie thozough the Riuer in thre places, but they ranne forth so rashly and unluckily, that they, who were carried wyth so greate couragiousnesse, were troubled and halfe overcome by the greate iniquitie of the places, befoze they coulde come vnto theyr enimies: for the Chanell of Tarro was very yll to passe ouer, full of turnings and windings, and verpe muche cumbered wth Willowes growyng therein, and also the bynnes of both the bankes were very hard both to goe by and downe. And mozcouer, manye quagge myzes, and blinde gulfes were made by the greate rayne that fell the daye befoze. And finally, the Fordes of the Riuer were euery where stony and uncertayne, thzough whyche difficultyes (as it must nedes happen) the course and force of the passengers was greatly hyndered. And albeit they were sore annoyed wth these incommodities, and the greatest parte of them coulde hardly gette out themselues, noz ouertake them whyche marched befoze, yet they valiantly charged their enimyes, and ranne togyther with Speares and Swordes, and in thre places attached a hote and variable fight, nowe fortunate to one, and now to the other.

The Frenchmenne hadde stode still in a place very safe, the whyche on that syde whyche the Italians came, was very wyeuen, and cumbered wth many trees, so that when the Italians clambered vpye the hyl, they foughte (disperfed wth the thicke battells of theyr enimies) wth greater force, than arte, and in the ende with aduers fortune. On the contrary syde, the Frenchmenne making theyr battelles thicke and close togyther, and not vnaduisedly stirring out of theyr place, recepued them that charged them, and that done, emiironed them rounde aboute, and wth theyr shorte Swordes assaying where the blade myghte best enter into the body, did thrust them in, and beate them downe. In the meane tyme, the Greeke Horsemenne that had inuaded the fore ward, beeyng repelled on all partes by the merue of armes,

The Battell of Tarro.

and their hote spurre Captaynes Annonio and Busichio departed out of the battell wounded, suddainely turning theyr Horses, flew together to rife the baggage, whiche by the counsell of Trivulzi had bin obiected vnto the enimies, that they bæing occuppyed about the spoyle, a moze readie and easie passage might be made for the King. There the Lackeys, dyndges, Women, straglers, and moze letters were sowly tossed among the beastes, and falling packes, and when they repugned, or sought to saue the goddes, being slayne among them, almost all the baggage was taken and rifed. This tumult caused all the field to ring of y^e dissonant outcryes of so many nations, by reason whereof, thither ranne al the bandes of footemen that were nere, who bæing also greedy of pillage, without shame brake their aray. But then arose there a very bloudy and miserable fight among the riflers themselves, euery man pulling one from another the Kings baggage, and the weaker still oppressed by the stronger, were slayne with the pillage in theyr armies.

This thing by the consent of all men, brought safetie vnto the frenchmen, for their fore ward when y^e Greekes once enclined vnto y^e spoyle, valiantly receyued the charge that the Earle of Giazza gaue ouerthwart them, and succoured the second battell that was in distress, and also the seconde being augmented with strength and courage, repelled the Marques of Mantoa with great slaughter, and ayded the third, which Montoni had disordred. At the last, whē the two battells of the Parthall and the King vehemently pressed the Italians on both sides at one time, Radulph and Ranuccio bæing circumnented in the middes of their enimies were slayne, and also almost all the whole bande of the familiars of the Marques, among whome were many noble merue. There fell also befoze the Generals eyes Calusiano, & the band of an C. singular good Souldyers footemen, that had bin chosen to guard the Marques, were slayne, and troden downe. The Marques himselfe (who with wonderfull prowes, had pierced throught the nuddes of the Horsesmen, euen vnto the ordinance, and the maisters of them, and the Horses by whome they were drawen, being slaine, had ouerwhelmed with a tempest of Horsesmen a bande of Gascoignes appoynted to garde the ordinance, and also the archers of the Kings guard) with much
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adoe got himselfe out of the middes of his enemies, his Horse being grievously wounded. For all men did aye, strike at, and pursue him slepyng throughout the whole battell with a spire of silk in the crest of his helmet.

The same fortune also felte the Italian footmen that were in the Earle of GILZA his battell, for when the foremost ranks of them did (as the manner was then) shake from the grounde they long spears, stayed by with their left arme, but the next ranks of Shoulders defended with Targets, hurled Javelins with broad heads, and the rest after them shotte quarrels out of crossebowes: they were receyved of the Switzers, not only without any feare, but also with slaughter: for they being verie skilfully cast into a close Esquadron, dyd lightly contemne that sonde kinde of weapons, and manner of fight, for as soone as ever they approached, almost three hundred extraordinarie young men, who for commendation gotten by extream perill, are called the Desperates, the forlorne hope, leaped forth from both sydes of the Esquadron, and with mighty two hande swordes, beganne to cut off those brutish pykes, with whose hardnesse almost all the Italians being feared, before they expected the impression of the Esquadron, turned theyr backs. In that place one bande of Almaynes, whiche had with great hardnesse invaded the French Ordinance, and hadde stoutely resisted, was slayne by the furious charge of the Switzers. And withall, a very suddayne shewe of rayne, mixed wth Haple, thunder, and lightning, did in so apt a time afflicte them being soyled, and now readye to flee, that God himselfe seemed to fight for the Frenchmen: for the River of Tarro (whiche a little before ranne as though it had bin dyed by) was now grown so greate through falles of waters from the Mountaynes and dyches, that neyther they whiche reposed hope of safetie in flight, could safely escape, neyther durst the vntouched battels that longed to goe succoure their discomfited fellows, once passe the River, whiche with swift and violent streame carryed away menne, Horses, armour, weapons and all. Neither in the meane time did the ordinance cease on either side, although with doubtfull, but dayne perill, they were often shotte off even amongst the blended

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battels.

The Battell of Tarro.

battels. In all this so hard state of things, the Marques forsaketh not himselfe, although he were attached with incredible sorrowe, seeing so many valiant Gentlemen that had come thither onely for god will towards him, yea and his vncle, enuired by their enemies, and no succoure to be hoped for. There was on the left had a deepe ditch of water that ranne downe to certayne comye Milles, into this ditch were both footemen and Horsemen carried by hedlong flight, sowly struggling and striving together. The which whē the Marques sawe, he changing his Horse, came thither, and rebuking the flight, and staying the ensignes of diuers troupes, he gathered together one strong band, who although they were sore wearied by the sundry incommodities of fight, flight, & finally of raine, yet valiantly renewed the fight, & with slaughter repelled y^e Frenchmen that pursued them amaine. There Seignieur de Mioll, and the Bastard of Bourbon, being wounded by Aleſso Beicacuto in the neck, were take not farre from the King, & diuers renowned Horsemen of the french side slaine: But the conuning of the Crie of Penta was a great skap, that they which had first attached the fight, were not quite destroyed, for he being brought prisoner out of Naples, nowe when his keepers were busied in that daunger of the battell, hadde escaped in the middes of the tumulte vnto y^e Venetians, and what by telling that the Frenchmen were vanquished and put to flight, and also by exhorting them not to let goe assured victorie out of their handes, he restored vnto the fearefull and sleeing suche courage, that with the auctoritie of his name, he caused all that he met with, to returne into the battell. But the Frenchmen pursuing the Italians being discomfited and broken by the first and second battels, were enpeached by the swollen riuier from winning of an entier victorie, such as a little before, the rising of the riuier had bin a lette vnto the reuerwardes of the Venetians, for following & succoring their disordred formost battels. But this is well knowen, that the Marshall Guien, although Trivulzi and Frances Sizzo, the Capitaine of the Florentines, vehemently obtesting hym not to suffer an occasion of destroying their enimie to be lost, would not pursue them whē they fledde, or goe one fote forth, for that he thought he ought not rashly to depart out of the sight of the Kings battell, the

event of the fight being as yet vncertaine, & the King being circumscribed from all partes by diuers, although vtterly scattered troupes of the enemies. Not long after, many of the Captaines gathering together about the King, caused the retreat to be sounded, that with ioyned bandes and battels agayne arraigned, they might expecte what their enemies would do: for they not only salve fresh & whole battels of their on the farther banke of the river ready to receyue the encounter, but might perceiue both their owne Horses and men wholly wearied, and therefore thought it best rather to rest, than pursue their scattered enemies, as they which were contented with that victorie, the which considering the perill appeared greater than it selfe, because they had by armes and prowesse made themselves a way, not only in spite of their enemies, but also with their foyle & discomfiture. The Marques also after he hadde in vaine looked for ayde (because the rest of the battels feared with the discomfiture of their fellows, & the hardnesse of passing ouer y^e risen river, had detracted to fight) wound himselfe out from the hindermost taylor of the departing Frenchmen, & passing ouer the river in a better sorte, returned into the Camp vnto y^e Prouiditor. There perished in that battel of y^e Venetians & Milanese aboue foure thousand, among whom were besides Radolph and Ranuccio, John Piccinino, nephew vnto the famous Captain Nicholas, Galeazo Correggi, Robert Strozza, and Alexander Berardo, Captaines of Coyets of Horsemen, and Vincent Sorbo, who ledde a regimēt of footemen, and Malfacto and Gabanello, who being of the guard, had whereas at other times, the specially in y^e battel, gottē the praise of singular prowesse, whē with theyr weapons they made a way through the mids of the enemies for the Marques to escape. But on y^e french part beside the multitude of y^e raskall rable, whiche made the slaughter greater and fouler, there were lost about a thousande Souldiours: and also Iulian and Dawson Lieutenantes of companies of Horsemen, and Vardey the Captaine of the Archers on Horsebacke, and the Captaine of the troupe that guarded the King, and also noble men called by the names of theyr Countes Torly, Semple, and Ambran. But the King selfe in dede a notable losse with greate griefe, when he understode that almōste all the Archers of his garde

The Battell of Tarro.

guard were slayne (who as is sayd before) sending away their Horses, fought on foote. And the reporte is, that hymselfe was in no small daunger of life, when the Marques breaking thorough his battell, and disordering the whole wardes, he being almost lefte alone, made hedde, and drew his Sword, and confessed that he was doubtlesse saued by the invincible strength of his fierce fighting Horse, which was a cleane cole blacke, with one eye. The Frenchmen lodged that night vpon the next hyll beside Tarro, hauing lost all their baggage and tentes, and brought to extreme lacke of victuals, who although they had vndoubtedly gotten the victorie, and were very ioyfull, yet did they greatly feare their small compaignie, and had a speciall care for the sauing and carying away of the number of the wounded, whiche was thought woulde be a verie hard thing, by reason of the yll and troublesome iourney that they had to goe: for they sawe that their enimies had a greate number of light Horsesmen, thorough whose vnwearied diligence and swiftnesse, they myghte cut off victuals, stoppe the wayes, and by pursuing and haglung on the hindermost, much endamage them, and specially the heaue armed Switzers. But the Captaynes being busied with this feare and care, and very warie: the Almaynes and Switzers, when the King had with liberall hand deuised among them a thousand Crownes for a rewarde, toke vpon them with great noyses of Drummes, the charge of keeping the Camp that night. On the other side in the Venetian Camp were they diuersly affected, for almost in euery cabine were some attached with sorrowe, and other with ioy, as euery mans happe had bin eyther to haue lost his fellow and friende, or to haue gotten such pillage: for all the Kings furniture, plate of siluer and golde, riche apparell, hangings of all sortes, and sacred furniture sette with pretious stones. Finally the riches of the Kings of Naples, which were note in carying into France to garnish the triumph, was taken by the basest of the Souldyers and the Graekes. But when all the Captaynes with the Lieutenantes were assembled togyther, euery man spake according to his humour: for some (and they farre the greatest number) who seemed to be oppressed with feare, thoughte it good to dislodge, and to saue their army, in whose safetie consisted

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the safetie of *Italy*. Other that hadde bin in the battell; and had o^r thereby taken to them greater courage thā they had before, woul^d haue the enimie inuaded agayne, and beeing weakened with woundes, and amazed with feare utterly destroyed, saying, that they had not bin ouercome by the prowesse of the Frenchmen, but by the iniquitie of the place. But then the Marques of Mantou spake in this manner: If that with equall consente we had bin all to day eyther hardie or fearefull, we had not but now to consulte whyther we shoulde forsake oure lodging, or invade our enemies: for eyther we shoulde haue supped more mery with the cyprie King in our enemies Camp, or certes haue bin held in this most safe trench, with strength and courage not lessened; but whereas extream counsels in dissenting heads doe alwayes hurt, but the meane generally do good, neyther will I suffer the fearefull to flee backe, neither permitte that the valiant agayne hazard the fortune of flight: for as though our rashnesse were not yet sufficiently chastised, to set vpon oure enemies in an unhappie place, and of greate disadvantage, what else is it, than to take wilde heastes, and to prouoke them, being made madde with the extream danger of death: for extream necessitie turneth into rage, and most times maketh them that do utterly despaire of life, of cowards most valiant men. But whereas some do counsell that we remove our Camp farther from the enimie, God forbidde that men shoulde be of the mynde, that the shame whiche we haue receined to day through the cowardise and flight of a fewe, we should heape vp higher by sondry dislodging, as it were with vtter dishonoure. For what will this suddayne dislodging signifie vnto our nere enemies, thā a grievous wound gotten, extream feare, and finally a most shamefull flight: therefore we must carrie in this lodging, and valiantly endeouore, that the incommoditie that hath bin taken, may be repayed thorough my more wary counsell, and your more happie prowesse. First of all we will commaund the hurt men to be carried to Parma, and there cause them to be cured, and the bandes that haue not fought, shall haue the charge of the Camp, that the wearied maye take some rest. I will go about the watch my selfe, and will strengthen with sure garrisons all wayes and entrances, and this will I

The Battell of Tarro.

to the uttermost, endeouore that we may lye in safetie from the violence of our enimies. To morrow will moze manifestly shewe vs the motion and mindes of our enimies, and will open a safer way to our counsels. The Prouiditori lightly assented to this opinion: for although the Marques seemed to haue performed rather the ductie of a valliant Horseman, than of a prudente Generall, yet they were so farre from reprehending him of rashnesse, for that vniuckie euent of the battell, that they had him in admiration, as made moze renowned through this newe glory of approued prowesse and inuincible courage: for although the aged menne were of themselves men of great honor, and such as had borne great dignities at home, yet did they reioyce for that augmentation of martiall prayse as most honorable, and dyd thinke that the most glorious triumph of almost taking so great a King prisoner, and of the victorie heere gotten, thorough the hardie attempte of the Marques, was taken from them thorough the unskilfulnesse and cowardise of a few.

The next day the King sent vnto the Venetian camp for truce for thre dayes, the which was demyed, and only that day graunted for to burie the slayne men on both sides. The next night the King about one of the clocke after midnighte, causing manie fires to be made in the Campe to deceyue his enimies, dislodged withoute Trumpet sounded, by Drumme's troken, in such a way, that he hadde marched certaine myles before his departure was knowen to the Venetians. But as soone as it was light, and the Marques had intelligence that the enimies were dislodged, he sente the Greeke Horsemen, and also the Earle of Glazza, and his brother Fracassio with the lighte Horsemen, to pursue them, who although they might muche haue endamaged the Frenchmen marching almost in slearyng manner, yet they did them no harme, whither for private good will, or by the commandement of the Duke of Milan, who feared as muche the Venetians obteyning an eittier victorie, as the Frenchmen with their vnappayzed power, I leaue vnto other to iudge. But after this, the Duke of Milan forced the Duke of Orleans to surrender Noyon.

And thus ended the first booke of this history.

Of the Battell of Seminara, foughte in the kingdome of Naples in Anno. 1495. betweene

Ferdinande King of Naples, and the great Gonsalues Cap-
taine of the Spanyardes on the one syde, and the Lordes
Obegnien and Perdue for Charles the French Kyng on
the other.



Done after the departure of Charles the french K.
out of the kingdome of Naples, Ferdinande the king
of Naples waisted out of sicile with about seven C.
houssemen, and five hundred Spanyardes and Sicilians,
sent by the K. of Spaine, vnder the conduct of Gonsalues
de Cordoua, vnto Rezo in Calabria. The whiche
Towne and castell they toke, as also they did Saint Agatha, and then
all the Townes there aboutes, partly for desire they had of their
king, and partly for the wretchednesse of the frenchmen, opened their
gates vnto Ferdinande: so that noone he was come so farre into the
countrey, as SEMINARA. While the L. Obegnien, gouernour of
Calabria for the french king, had intelligence hereof, he sent for Seig-
neur Perdue out of Basilicata, to bring with him all the garrisons
that were in that countrey, with whome he with his power mee-
ting at Terranova, before that his enemies had knowledge of Perdue
was comming, marched to Seminara to fight with Ferdinande out of
hande, or if he would holde himselfe within the walles of Seminara,
noe durst not commit himselfe to the open felde and fight, that then
he woulde retorne as victor, making manifest vnto the world the
cowardise of his enemies. The which thing he thought would be of
greate moment to keepe the people in their dutie, specially saying
he did thinke that within few dayes ayde would come vnto him
out of Campagna, Puglia, and Abruzzo. But Ferdinande who had not
yet intelligence of the comming of Perdue, and had bin aduertised
by espies of the power of Obegnien, which was very small, nothing
doubted to issue out of the Towne, and encounter his enemies,
thinking that al the estimation & fauoure that he had gotten a little
before, by bold attempting and valiantly trying of fortune, would
now be lost by one infamie of being shamefully enclosed by siege,
and the dishonour of conceived feare, if that he should hyde himselfe
within

with in the Towne. But Gonsalues in whose head was that power of cracte prudence, whereby he afterwarde passed almost all the rest of the Captaynes of oure age, beganne to admonishe the yong Prince, grædy both of recouering the Kingdome, and of winning glory, earnestly desiring him not to goe out of the Towne before the purpose and power of their enemies were more certaynely knownen, that those counsels are honorable ynough, which promise securitie to doubtfull matters; but those are most shamefull and miserable, whiche thzough rashnesse when that we bauntingly shewe a vayne bigour of hart, are wofit to destroy all meanes to obteyne the absolute Conquest and conceived victorie. And must we then (sayde Ferdinande) recouer the Kingdome with as greate cowardise, as we lost it, and not rather in these so prosperous beginnings proue that fortune by doing and attempting, whythe we souid aduerse by setting stil and absteyning from fight in *Romagna & Campagna*, as though the beginnings of warres haue not the greatest momēt for the successes that follow, & those exployts þ are courageously begun, vnlesse they be valiantly prosecuted, haue they not a soule and unhappie ende? Fortune will be with vs Gonsalues, which hath hitherto stood with the Frenchmen, seeing that shee now smileth on our first enterprizes, neyther will she ever forsake them, whome of hir owne accord she calleth vnto victorie, vnlesse that we do shamefully forsake hir by our dishonorable lingering. Let vs once see the faces of the Frenchmen, which only shame (and that to very bayne) hath made terrible, and let vs couragiously, setting foote to foote, trye both oures and their strengthes. We are superiour in footemen, Horsemen, the good will of men, and finally in the fauoure of Fortune, neyther must we doubt of the prowesse of you and your regimēt. For who is there of you, that if we should fighte man to man, would not gladly desire his Frenchman or Almayne to encounter withall, and also woulde valiantly slay him? I doubtlesse for my part will first before you all boldly charge the first braue Gentleman that I shall see in their battell, and by happy hardinesse giue you an example, that þe running vpon them with like heate, may through equall courage bringe backe a speedie victorie from this drunken enemye.

There

That was,
when Charles
was the
kingdome.

The Battell of Seminara.

25

There were many noble men present at this Counsell, who afterwarde came to the estimation of great Captaynes, Andrew de Altavilla of the noble house of Capua, Hugh of Cardonna, Theodore de Trivulzi, and of the Spaniardes Emanuell Benauides, Peter Paces, Alberade, and Pennalosa, who being very desirous to fight, prayed Gonsalues that he woulde not distrust the prowesse of the Souldyers, and promising to behaue themselves valiantly, adhozted Ferdinande to commaunde the armie to issue out of the Towne. Seminara standeth high, and from the Towne runne there hilles a long vnto a little balley, the whiche sendeth forth a riuier out of a lowe botome: at this vale begonne the Champeine fieldes, whither the Frenchmen were now come from Terranova. Ferdinande marching thre miles along the hilles, came to the riuier, and lodging his footemen on the hither banke vppon the left hande, and all his Horsemen beeing stretched out along like vnto a wing on the right hand, looked when his enemies would passe the riuier.

Quier right againste the footemen of their enemies, by Obegny and Persue set their Switzers, being cast into one battaylion, they placed the foot men of the Calabrians behinde them, as it were to succoure them, and deuided betwene them the Horsemen, who were little lacke of foure hundred men of armes, and after the order of the Frenchmen twice as many light Horsemen, and passing ouer the riuier in a square battell, made towardes their enemies. The Spanishe Horsemen seeing that, set spurres to their Hozses, and cheerefully ranne forth, and when they beeing overmatched both in armour, weapons, and strength, could not make the thicke battell of the men of armes to giue ground, giuing a shoute began to turne their Hozses, and after a Spanishe kind of fight, to retire vnto their fellows, with fetching a round compasse, that both discouraged the heartes of the Arragonian footemen, thinking they horsemen had bin discomfited by the enimie, and so fledde backe, and also encouraged the Frenchmenne couragiously to presse on them, so that Obegny on the right hande, and Persue on the lefte, hotely charging the battell of the footemen with they horsemen, disordered them befoze that the Switzars coulde bende their pykes towardes them, and many of them being ouerthowen, quite cat-

C.

tered

tered the whole battell, *Ferdinande* in wayne supporting his Shoulders to retorne into the battell, like a valiant Horseman ranne bypon his enimies, accompanied with certayne men of armes of his seruantes, and brake his *Launce* on the breast of a Frenchman of *Marche*, and anon after being ouerwhelmed with the multitude of his enimies, was forced to flee, being pursued of many, by reason of his crest and gilt armour, but overtaken by none, when (for the luck) his Horse foundering, threw him downe headlong into a very narrowe place, in a hollow way, neither were the Frenchmen farre off from him, being encombred with his Horse lying bright vpon him, and his sote entangled in the stirrops: when *John*, brother vnto *Andrew*, *Aluilla* came to his helpe, and of *enric* *louis*, worthy of eternall memorie, offered him his owne swifte Horse to saue his life; vpon whome *Ferdinande* (as he vaunted excellently well) speedily leaped, although he were in heauie complete armour, and so escaped the enimie. But *Aluilla* being on sote, was anon after slaine by the Frenchmen. *Obegny* hauing slaine a great part of the sotenmen, lodged not farre from the place of encounter, so that it was said, that he little knew how to use the victorie, because he neither pursued so manye noble men (among whome was the Cardinall of Arragon) nor incontinently brought his victorious arme before *Seminara*, through the whiche leasure both the noble men and the king came by dyuers waies in safetie vnto the *Schuyppes*, and *Gonsalues* also, who by valiantly fighting, and by repaying the array in many places, had doubtlesse saved many, entred the Towne, and carryed away the baggage, and all the better part of the furniture of the Camp, and then gotte hym to *Rezo*, the Frenchmen afterward pursuing him in wayne:

The

The Battell of *Eboli*, fought in the King- 27

dome of *Naples*, betweene *Perſue*, Chiefe
 rayne for Charles the French King, and *Thomas Carafa* Earle
 of *Matalone*, Generall for *Ferdinande* the King of *Naples*, in
 Anno. 1495.



King *Ferdinande* and the greate *Gonsalues* being escaped (as yee haue
 heard) out of the battell of *Semihara*:
 the king embarking his power that
 was lefte, sayled vnto the Citie of
Naples, where he was receiued in
 by the well willing *Solowichmen*,
 and many noble men *Aragonistes*
 repaying vnto hym, he straightly
 besieged *Montpensier* the *French*
Giceroy, and other in the *Castel*, the
 which he had entrenched round. And also the great *Gonsalues* hadde
 repayed his power at *Alexo* out of *Sicily*, and tarried on the *Calabrians*.
Montpensier signified vnto *Obegny* and *Perſue*, that he was
 not able to hold out long, vntlesse that ayde were speedily sent vnto
 him, eyther by sea or land. Vpon this they sent for the noble menne
 that were of the *Ardu* or *French* faction, to repaire vnto the with
 their hands, and also gathered together their dispersed people, and
 then deuising the army, *Obegny* went against *Gonsalues* and *Perſue*
 with *Bernardine Sanscuerino* Prince of *Besignano*, who had brought a
 cornet of horsemen, and four bands of footmen, hasted to *Naples*, &
 came to *EBOLI*, a towne not far fro the riuer of *Cochile*, standing
 vpon a very high hill, and enclosed round about with a deepe balley.
Ferdinand hauing intelligence of the french menis coming, hadde
 sent his Captaines & power thither before, to let the passage of the,
 whose way lay by *Salerno*, himself remained at *Naples*, to the end he
 might be presente at the parle of the frenchmen, who desired willing
 to create of taking truce, and yielding vp the *Castel*. The General
 of the kings army was *Thomas Carafa*, Prince of *Matalone*, a main ve
 terly squarier of forraigne warfare: but there were with him many
 good warriours, & among the *venet* *D. of Comerio*, & *Lucas Sabello*,

C.ij.

who

who knowing whiche way the Frenchmen mynded to trauaile, and hauing diligently viewed their power, gaue aduice with small iourneys to followe at their enimies heeles, who marched directly to Salerno to cut off their victuals, and not to ioyne in battell wyth them, before that a place of disaduantage hadoe taken and offered them to be oppressed, or else (which seemed to be best) incontinently with all speede to take the Towne, called the little Lake, and the inhabitants thereof, being commaunded to abandon the Towne, and to set it on fire, that the enimie might not vse the victuals and houses thereof, and then to marche speedely to Salerno before the Frenchmen. But the rest of the Captaynes and Souldyers considering the small number of their enimies, dyd burne with so great desire of fight, that being incited by a folishe courage, they cryed out that it was not for the dignitie of the King, and of so great an army, that the victorie which they almost held assuredly, should be sought, not by the right way & open prowesse, but by going about the bushe, and dastardly suttletyes. For ouer this rashnesse of many, dyd the goernement of the haultie Chiefetayne anigmēt, who had brought nothing into the field besides approued fidelitie, and the name of his renowned house, for he reprimanding those that were set to followe iuarie counsels, and not all vpon lustinesse and honor, sayde: What my maisters, neither are the Frenchmen now adayes those aunciente Heroes, whome *Francis* for their miraculous strength of body hath celebrated in their fabulous pœmes, neyther are we altogether women armed and garnished after thys manlike guise, so that we must doubt to set vpon, and overcome these Barbarians walking with drunken traine, as sone as euer we see them. And immediately after he had thus said, he commaunded Proclamation to be made, that every man shoulde make himselfe readie, and brydle his Horse, and after the third watche, all the army issued out of Eboli, Pursue and the Prince of *Besignano* hadoe passed ouer the riuer of *Cochile* by a bridge, anone after the breake of the day, and marched towards Salerno, but when they saw theyr enimies, they retired backe aboue thre furlongs, that they mighte raunge their battels in a more indifferent place, and there layde their left side close vnto a mightie wodde, that adioyneth vnto the open

open fieldes, that their small army might not be enclosed round about by the multitude of their enemies, for they were scarce one thousand Switzers, who being backed with eight hundred Calabrian footemen, made a square battallion, and close to the side of the footemen stood the Horsemen, being of Frenchmen and Italians of all sortes a thousand. But the Earle of Matalone following the olde order which hath oftentimes destroyed the Italians, deuised his army into foue battels, the which were stretched forth in length from the middle battell with equall front like vnto direct wings. In the middle battell was he himselfe, and Lucas Stabello flanked on the left hand with a thousand Spanyards, and on the ryght with thre thousand Italian footemen. But in the uttermost wings were on the one side Venanzi the Duke of Camerino, and on the other Hierome de Tutauilla the Earle of sarno, with eyther of them their compaynes of Horsemen for thys purpose, that as sone as euer the Earle of Matalone shoulde charge the Switzers on the front with his footemen, and the French Horsemen with his Horsemen, Venanzi shoulde euen then get betwene the Frenchmen and the woodde with his Horsemen, and the Spanyardes, and on that side valiantly inuade them, and at the very same tyme the left wing should be ledde by Tutauilla, vpon the sides and backe of the enimie: the reason of this deuise was not absurde, if that the heartes of the Souldiers, and the mouings and goings of the battels, whome fortune maketh subiect vnto a thousand chaunces, did fully answer vnto the counsels and commaundementes of the Captaynes, as it then happoned. For besides that the Arragoman battels were vniwisely placed full against the beames of the Sunne rising, whiche did very much dayell their sight: yet they seemed also to be vnaduisably ranged, for that the raunges standing a small distance one from an other, had neither strength ynough to abide the shooke, neither yet had euery ranke space ynough left to turne about their front, if neede should be, but that one should be encumbered and disordred by an other: but that whiche was a greate detriment, and in warfare vtterly to be detested, the Souldiers being ouerluffie and cranke (as frehe water Souldiours commonly are) and hating neither learned to be obedient, nor to fight well, discharged they

The Battell of Eboli.

their duetie of discipline. For as soon as euer the great ordinance was shot off farre from them, certaine of the Horsemen, lustie and braue Gentlemen, that they mighte intercept from the rest of their fellows the honor of approued prowesse, without commandement, charging their stauces, did out of aray one after another, runne their Horses vpon their enimies, whose charge when the French Horsemen had receiued with the strong front of their vnbaken battell, & many of them being broched vpon their enimies launces, & cast off from their Horses, were slayne: all the rest incontinently ranne their Horses backe againe amaine, & lighting vpon the Spanish footemen, disordred their battell, and braue them vpon Venanzi his wing of Horsemen, in suche sorte, that they not onely brake the ranks of the Horsemen, but also threw them downe to the ground. Besides at that very instant, the Arragonian footemen running apace, gaue with like rashnesse the onset on the Switzers: for when some of them bearing Targets, hadde hurled their iavelins, they drew their Swardes, and other bare eithr boarespeares with eares or rhompheyes, with an hooked head of iron, that would cut on both sides, they coulde not come vnto the body of the Switzers squadron, for their long pykes, and therewithall followed suche a change of courage, that they whiche euen now ranne forth with singular fiercenesse, and surpassing cherefulnesse, incontinently turned fearefully backe, & namely, when that their Horsemen ranne in among them. *Perfue* being astonied at the miracle of so great a chaunce, that he mighte not sayle vnto fortune, who vehemently fauored him contrarye to hope, did valiantly set forward, & courageously running ouer the heapes of men and Horses falling downe, did within the space of halfe an houre (which is almost incredible) quite ouerthrowe the power of his enimies, and that almost, without anye wounde of his owne shouldders, welnere all the Italian footemen were slayne by the Switzers, and with them also a band, whiche hadde bin leued at Naples, of the Russians and cutters of passing hardinesse: there also perished valiauntly fighting, when the rest turned their backs, these stout petite Captaynes, *Henry* & *Gentleman of Confiu*, *Lewes Squarcia*, and *Vincent Capech*. The thicke wooddes through the which the armed could not easily goe, defended

defended the Spaniards, and light and nimble fellows without armour. But the Earle of Maralone, and the rest of the Captaines hauing lost many of the Horsesmen, shamefully fledde vnto Eboli. But when they were hardly receiued in at the gate, and the french Horsesmen pressed at their backs, Venanzi a man of a constant courage, stoutely sustenting the inuasions of the enimie in the hinder most taylor, and fighting valiantly, was there slayne. Furthermore, the rest of the Horsesmen, being in number almost three hundred, fetching a compasse thorough very pll wayes, came flying vnto the sozagate of the towne, but the towncsmen were so amazed with feare, that no mā would suffer y gate to be opened, nor was moued with the daunger of their friends, holding vpper their suppliant hands vnto the walles to saue their liues. But as the frenche had become victors through the vnskillfulnesse and cowardise of theyr enimies, so through their fatall slouth knewe they not how fully to lose the victory. For Perdue lost the occasion offered to destroy the Horsesmen, perhappes bycause not surueying round about the vnter ditches, the situation of the towne, he brought his power only into y broad greene that lay before y towne, wondering & looking y they which had so shamefully fled, should open the gates vnto the victors. But not long after, when he lacked ordinaunce to winne the towne, and the Prince of Besignano had fallen downe almost dead, through the stroke of a pellet of a Serpentine, shot off fro the bulwarke of the towne, whiche pellet had stricke off the handle of his sworde, and battered his best plate, they retyped backe to spoyle them that were slaine: after whose departure the Horsesmen were deliuered of extreame feare and danger, and retyped into y towne. And within few houres after came y Spaniards, stragling in dyuers companies, being saued through y benefit of y wood. But if Perdue had encamped before Eboli, most men do hold, y the towncsmen (bycause they were of y factio of Anjou.) would haue opened y gate vnto the y next day, & deliuered y Arragonis army into their hands. The hoped fruite of this battell was not receiued, for before y ha- king Perdue could come vnto light, Mopenier had giue hostages for y deliuering vp of y castel wthin a certayne day, vntesse ther came so great a power of frechmen y Ferdinads army wold abādō y field, and
hine

The Battell of Eboli.

hide themselves in *Towres*, and also that he might be victualled, had coucnanted, that he and his power would not stirre untill that time. Now *Perdue* not daring to breake thorough y^e inerpugnable munitions which the *K.* had cast vp at *Caia*, a place not farre from the West gate of *Naples* (whiche way the Frenchmen must needes go, to come vnto the Castell) retired backe agayne into *Basilicata*, leauing the castell to be surrendred.

Of the Battell of *Terranoua*, foughte in the
kingdome of *Naples*, betweene the Lorde
Obegny, Chiefetayne for Lewes the French Kyng, and Hu-
go of *Cardonna*, Captaine for Ferdinande the King of *spayne*,
in Anno. 1506.



When that Lewes the frenche King, and Ferdinande the King of *spayne*, couide not agree about the diuision of the kingdome of *Naples*, wherof they had spoyled King *Fredenke*, Dom *Hugh de Cardonna* hauing leuied in *sicile* thre thousand footemenne, & thre hundred horsemen, arrived at *Rezo* in *Calabria*, and in a great skirmish distressed *James Sanseuerino* Prince of *Mileto*, who stirred the *Calabrians* to reuolt, and succoured *Didaco de Ramires*, that was besieged in *Terranoua*, and burnt and sacked the *Towne*, and after this put to flight *Martiano* the Prince of *Rossana*. When the two *Sanseuerini* Princes of *Salerno* and *Besignano* had intelligence of these exploits, they leuying by power in all partes, and arming their tenants, ioynd with the Lorde *Obegny*, who hasted from *Cossenza* to repressse *Hugh*. There were with *Obegny* Monsieur de *Grigunes*, and Monsieur de *Malherbe*, the one Captayne of the *Gascoigne* Archers, and thre thousande *Switzers*, the other (*Grigunes*) of all the light horsemen, but his chiefest strength was in his men of armes, among whome, an olde band of *Scottes* dyd excell, whiche consisted of the familiars and faithfull friendes of *Obegny*.

The Battell of Terranova.

33

Obegny, Hugh lodged at that time in a playne, on the South syde of Terranova, and being broken with the coming of his enimies, calleth the Captaynes into Counsell: and although he was increased with a new supplye, yet he thinketh it best to thinne the open fieldes, and mindeth to retire backe vnto Saint Georges Castell, which standeth on the Appenine Mountaynes. But the new Captaynes that had lately come out of payne, impeached the performance of this determination. Among this newe supply, were Emanuel Benauides, and Antony de Leua, who became afterwarde a renowned Captayne, and two Aluerades, the father and the sonne, they hadde broughte with them foure hundred men of armes, and lighte Horsemen, and foure bandes of footemen. They sayde, it was dishonorable, yea and flatte shamefull to remove their Camp backe, and to retire before the enimie came into sighte, and before they certaynely knewe, what and how great their enimies power was: and this reasoned they the rather, because a Calabrian espie, a man of a doubtfull fidelitie, did affirme, that the Frenchmen could not be there within two dayes. But this opinion of the Frenchmen, dyd Obegny, an olde Captayne egregiously deceyue, for he using french speedinesse, and marching all night through an vnused way, taught him by the Calabrians, shewed vnto the Spanyardes his battels raunged, and commaunded the battell to be sounded. The right wing did the two Sanseuerine Princes stretche forth the in forme of a croissant. In the left wing was Griguines Captayn (as I haue sayd of all the light Horsemen) but in the middle battell stood Obegny almost close vnto the Princes, with the men of armes, cast into a thicke troupe. Malherb set his Switzers, standing thicke together, and his Gascoignes in looser rankes (that they might shote the more commodiously) close to the syde of the lighte Horsemen.

On the other side the Spanyardes, although they were fewer in number, and deceyued of their purpose, yet without feare they arrange their battels, and encourage one another to fighte, and withall constantly receyue the charge of the Frenchmen: there was to be seene a cruell fight, neyther side hauing abilitie to shote off their ordinance. But in the heate of the fight, whylest Cardonna

The Battell of Terranoua.

dothe performe (and that with marueilous constancie) the office both of a Chiefetayne and a Souldoyer. Griguines fetching a compasse about with his extended wing, gaue a charge ouerthwart the footemen, and disordred and defeated them, and immediately the Switzers and Gascoignes were also vpon the iackes of them with suche violence, that the Spanish footemen being broched with the pykes, and shot in with the arrowes of theyr enimies, fearefully fledde. But in another quarter, all Cardonna his Horsemen, being by his commaundement cast together into one round troupe, surprised the Calabrian Horsemen with euened slaughter. But when Obegny came forth with his battell, neyther the Spanish nor Sicilian Souldoyers did abyde the violent charge of the Scottishe men of armes, but hastily turning their backs, ranne away as mayne vnto the Mountaynes, Cardonna crying, and in wayne bidding them turne head, and retire saue and softly. The Horsemen being thus put to flight, the footemenne were slayne and troden downe from all partes, but the greatest parte of the Horsemen escaped vnto the streights of the Mountaynes. At this conflict Griguines pursuing his fleeing enimies, was slayne, being runne into the eye with a launce, when he had pulled vp his beuer. Perther was Obegny in small perill of death, when the Spanish Horsemen, (as we afterward learned of Antonino de Leua) hauing enclosed and almost taken him prisoner, went about to pull off his helmet, and doubtlesse had slayne him, if he had not bin saved by the coming of the Prince of Salernes Horsemen, who casting themselves into a wedge, scattered those that were clustered round about him. Furthermore, when that the rest of the noble men had escaped by the Mountaynes, Hugo last of all forsaking his horse whome he had huckened, bycause the enimie shoulde not enioy him, crept by the snowe Rockes vnto Bubalina Motta, and then gathering together, and a little refreshing his Souldoyers that hadde escaped out of the battell, he wente downe vnto the Citie of Hierazzi. The baggage and carriages of the Spaniards, fell vnto the pillage of the Frenche Souldoyers, and Desautes, the ensignes with many goodly Genets of Spayne, were brought vnto Obegny, and the number of them that were taken prisoners, was greater than of them
that

The Battell of Terranoua.

35

that were slayne. Neyther coulde that victorie seeme ioyfull vnto Obegny, seeing it cost hym the deathe of that most valiaunt Gentleman his deere friend Griguines.

After thys battell, when Obegny hadde without wounde taken Bubalina Motta whyther hys enimies hadde fledde, there was no man almost in Calabria that dyd not incontinently turne his deuotion towards the Frenchmen victors, the Spanyardes being into the strong Castels, whiche they thought the Frenchmenne woulde hardly winne in the Winter season.

The Battell of Gioia, fought in the Kingdome of Naples, betweene the Lord Obegny, Generall for the French Kyng, and Andrada, for Ferdinande the Kyng of Spayne, in Anno. 1506.



FERDINANDE Kyng of Spayne hearing of thys ouerthrow in Calabria, and how that his Lieutenant General in the Kingdome of Naples Gonsalues, was besieged in Puglia, sente Portecarerri with a strong flete & army vnto Naples, vnder whō serued Alfonse Carnaiall with 600. horsemen, & Ferdinande Andrada,

who had brought out of Galicia & Biskay about. 5000. footemen, but Portecarerri dyed as sone as he came vnto Rezo, and so the supreme gouernement fel vnto Andrada, who consulting with Hugo de Cardonna, marched with his army vnto the territozie of Terranoua. And the verye same daye also came Obegny from Bubalina Motta, to take Terranoua, which when Alrerade a Spanyard had taken before hee came, he after a light skirmish, to trie the force of his enimies, turned to Castel San Gian, not far frō Seminara, in the whiche place, seauen yeares before he hadde vanquished in battell Kyng Ferdinande and Gonsalues. Neyther were the fieldes famous for the late ouerthrowe of Hugo de Cardonna farre off, in somuche, that Obegny beeing fierce through hys former victories, although he were inferior in number, yet beholding with his eyes the fieldes fatal vnto hys foes, but fortunate vnto himselfe, was lede with a ioyful

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abode.

The Battell of Gioia.

abodement to aduerture the thirde battell: and for that intent, sente his Harraulde Ferracule vnto the Spanyardes, who with proude mouthe offered the fiede vnto them, as men of no valoe, and accustomed to be vanquished. Hugh being of himselfe incensed, through the heate of his discoming hearte, was of the opinion, that the offer of battell shoulde bee accepted, and that for the bringing of the message, Ferracule shoulde haue a basen and a cuppe of silver, and presently sente for his brother (who was not farre from thence) to come with his footemen: but his Souldoyers refused to goe forth, excepte their wages behinde, that had bin so often promised them, were now payde. But this continuacie of the Souldoyers, he easily dissolued, by giuing vnto them all the golde and silver he had, and gaging his friends credite for the rest, and so the footemen were brought into the Camp. But Obegny after certayne skirmishes marched to Gioia, whome the Spanyardes incontinently folloved, and the next day came Obegny downe from Gioia, in a ray of battell, which as soon as the Spanyardes espied, they also incontinently arranged their battels. In the wings were Emanuel de Benauides, and Caruaiall. But in the middle battell were Hugh Antonino de Leua, and Aluerade the father, with the olde footemen and horsemen. A little behynde this battell rode Andrada with the horsemenne that came lately out of spayne, and the Galiciarr and Biskay footemen, who after the auncient manner of the Romane warfare, vsed pikes somewhat long and inflected, and iavelins to be hurled. But Obegny himselfe was in the vanguard. Alphonse Sanseuerino was in the seconde, and Honorato Sanseuerino in the thirde, and did leade the bandes of their friends and tenants. But Malherbe was Captaine of the square batallion of the footemen, with whome was the greate ordinaunce, whyle being shotte off on bothe sydes, the horsemen came forth. But when Obegny wente aboute to auoyde the Summe that shined in his face, he missed of his purpose, for a troupe of Spanishe lighte horsemen toke y place befoze him, so that he turned about, & gaue a vehemet charge on Emanuels wing. But when the fighte was most hote, and Emanuels wing did verve hardlye susteyne the force of the Scottes, Hugh, Antony, and Aluerade succoured them, and then they fought

The Battell of Gioia.

37

fought on both sydes so fiercely, that both Frenchemen and Spaniards fighting with their swordes, were intermedled together, neither did the one or the other doubt of the victorie, when loe with speedie counsell Carriall brought about the left wing, and gyuing a charge vpon the backes of the fore ward of the enimies, brought such terror vnto them, being busied with the doubtfull fight, before that Obegny hauing his battaile distressed, fled. And the horsemen of Andrada defeated Alphoso sanseuerino, that brought aide with the second battell: and with like lotte was Honoratus put to flight, and the thirde battaile ouerthrowne: and within halfe an houre (whiche is scarce credible) there was a notable victorie gotten, almost all the French footmen being slayne: both y^e Sanseuerines, Honoratus, & Alfonso were take prisoners. But a troupe of Scottes toke away Obegny out of the handes of his enimies: and then Malberbe and he met, and fled on the spurre to Gioia. But there they stayed not long, because newes was broughte, that the Spanish horsemen were at hand pursuing them: but Obegny in the darke night came to the castell of Angitula, often complayning of Fortune, that had nowe illuded and deceyued him, hauing bin inuincible vntill that daye, and victour in twelue Britayne and Frenche battayles.

The Spaniards pursuing hym, besieged the Castell, whiche Obegny yelved by himselfe within seue dayes after, when he understod how the Duke of Nemours the Viceroye of Naples, was discomfited and slayne in battayle.

Fin.

The



¶ The Battell of *Cerignola*, foughte in the
 Kyngdome of *Naples* by the Duke of Ne-
 moures, Viceroy and Generall for Lewes the Franche King, and
 the great Gonfalues, Viceroy and Lieutenant Generall for Fer-
 dinande the Kyng of *Spayne*, in Anno. 1506.



He same day that the Lord Obegny was ouerthro-
 wen at Gioia, the great Gonfalues de Cardonna Lieu-
 tenant Generall for the Spanyardes in *Naples*, ha-
 uing receyued a supplye of Almaynes, issued out of
 the Towne of Barletta, whererin he had bin after a
 fort besieged seauen monethes, by the Duke of Ne-
 moures, Viceroy for the French King, and marched to CERIG-
 NOLA, with intent to besiege the Towne, or to geue battell vn-
 to the Frenchmen, if they woulde attempte to succoure it. The
 Duke of Nemours forsaking Canossa, was encamped not farre from
 Cerignola, where he called together the Captaynes, consulting with
 them whether it were best to fight or no. But thozough vntimely
 alteration, the greatest parte of the day was spent in consultation,
 when he him selfe, Monsieur de Formantes, and Monsieur Darsey for
 waightie considerations, thoughte it best to deferre the fight untill
 the next day, but Monsieur Cyandey the Captayne of the Switzers,
 and sieur de Alegre, stoutely contended, that victorie whiche had
 alwayes luckely happened vnto the Frenchmen, when they were
 hardie, was not to be sought by slouthfull and dishonorable linger-
 ing, but by speedy and manly encounter. By whiche sentence Ne-
 moures vnderstode, that his honor and fame was greatly touched:
 for hee had heard a little before, how Alegre had spread very euill
 words of him, as though he being no greate skilfull nor valiaunte
 Chiefetayne, was afraide to ioyne in battell with the enimie, and
 had suffered with the soule blot of the French honor, and the great
 enuayring of their strength, his army to be sliced and pulled by
 the suttle enimie. Wher vpon he not enduring this reproche, with-
 out stay said these wordes: So to then, seeing it semeth so to some,
 that we must this day by battell make one end or other of y^e wars,
 suche as Fortune will allotte, certesse I will satisfie by honorable
 death,

The Battell of Cerignola.

39

death, if not the publike desire of the French King, yet at the least myne owne honor: and this sayd, he uncontintently gaue the signall of battell, although the Sunne were scarce an houre and an halfe high, and made towarde the enimie with thre arauinged battels, not with equall front, but one a little behinde another, so that whē the righte wing wherein he and Arse were, ranne forth, Ciandey should shote off the great ordinance from the middle battell, wherein stode all the footemen, and shoulde followe a certaine space behinde the fore warde: and in like maner Alegre should admooue the thirde battell vnto the leste syde of the Switzers when he shoulde thinke good, so that the French battels by reason of their vnequall length, muche resembled in the setting forth the thre hindernmost fingers of a mans hand. But on the other side Gonsalues set against them five battels with direct front, two of Horsemen were in the wings, and one backed the Almaine footemē, so nere vnto whome stode the Spanisch footemen, that a farre off, they seemed to be both one battell, but yet so that there was space ynough lesse for the Horsemen that stode in the middes, to issue out if it were needfull. But all the light Horsemen he sent forth vnder the conduct of Fabrizio de Colonna, and Didaco de Mendoza, to stay the enimie by skirmishing, wherebye such a thicke cloude of dust was raised, that the French hauntscurriers could not one whit see before them, and this was augmented by the smoke of the great ordinance, whiche fleying ouer both armies, did hurt neyther of them. But when Gonsalues comanded the great ordinance to be shot off againe, Leonard Aleccio told him with great feare and sorrow, that all the barrells of Gunpowder were there by chance or falseshood, set on fire, with whiche newes, Gonsalues being nothing dismayde, sayd: I do gladly receiue this good abodement, for what greater ioy can happen vnto vs, than to haue seene the lightes of victorie conning forth: neyther was his prognostication false: for Nemours charging y Almaines, & the Horsemen of y left wing, vtinely sticke fast in the ditch, y Gonsalues had cast vp before his Camp, in somuch y when he being repulled, turned his troupe to seeke some other way to come vnto the enimie, he was slaine with an Hargubulle shot, almost before Ciandey hadde giuen the onset on the Almaines. And the like lucke

recey

The Battell of Cerignola.

receyued Cyandey of the same ditche : for the Almaynes with their Pykes, and the Spanyardes with their harquebuziers, disordered and slewe the Switzers beyng very yll troubled with the ditche, and also Cyandey hymselfe, who tourned the handes and eyes of all his enimies vppon him, bicause he fought on fote with a great plume of whyte feathers on his headpeece, and stoutly strued to get out of the troublefom place to come to the enimie. But when Nemours was slayne, Arsy and Alegre fledde, whome the Spanishe ho:smen pursued, slaying and taking many : among whom was Formantes, and then retourned vnto the Campe, when the Sunne going downe had not giuen so muche as halfe an houre of perfect lyghte to ende the battayle, whyche doubtlesse saued Alegre and Arsy. There were slayne of Frenchemen foure thousand, and that with so greate celeritie and felicitie, that when the battayle was begonne and ended within halfe an houre, there perished not an hundred of the Spanyardes. I hearde Fabricio de Colonna saye, when he tolde the successe of this battayle, that the victorie was not gotten so muche epyther by valiauncie of the Soul-dyers, or pyudence of the Generall, as by the small rampyre, and shallowe ditche cast vppe before the Campe, whyche caused the Captaynes that raune after him, to reuine the auintiente martiall discipline in fortifying their Campe : Gonsalues folloving the victorie, expelled the Frenchmen quite out of the Kingdome of Naples, the which he conquered for his Soueraigne the King of Spayne. Thys battell was foughte the nine and twentieth of Aprill, seauen dayes after the battell of Gioia.

The

¶ The Battell of *Vaila* or *Giaradda*, fought
in Lumbardie, betweene *Levves* the. xij. King
of Fraunce, and the Venetians, in An. Domini. 1509.



Aximilian the emperor, *Lewis* the French
king, *Ferdinande* king of Spaine, *Iulius* bi-
shop of Rome, & *Alfonse* the Duke of Fer-
rara, being entred into league againste
the Venetians, because they had encroched
vpon them all, *Lewes* the French king
marched from Milan with a great army
agaynst the Venetians, who hadde also a
great power in the fiede beyond the ri-
uer of *Adda*, vnder the conduite of the earle of *Petilia* General, &
Bartholomew de *Aluian*, the Campe maister, and *George* *Cornarie*, and
Andrew *Grittie*, Legates or Prouiditori. But when the French
king being desirous to fight, coulde get the Venetians by no prouo-
cation out of their fortified campe, he dislodged, with intent the
next night to lodge eyther at *Vaila* or *Pandino*, where by cutting
off theyr victuals that were brought from *Cremona* and *Crema*, he
might force them to dislodge, as in very deede it didde. Now there
were two wayes to come vnto those places, one the lower and
next to the river of *Adda*, which was the longer, because it was
crooked: the other further from the river, which was the righter
and the shorter. The lower way tooke the French army, wherein
were aboute two thousand men of armes, six thousande *Switzers*,
and twelue thousand *Gascoignes* and *Italians* footmen, with great
furniture of ordinaunce and Pioners. On the vpper way on the
right hande marched the Venetian army wherein were two thou-
sand men of armes, aboute twenty thousand footmen, and a great
number of light horsemen, part *italians*, part *Grecians*. The *Greeke*
horsemen were the auantcurreurs, but by reason of the bushes and
shrubbes, that occupied all the space betwene the two armies,
they straggled not so wide, as otherwise they commonly vsed to
doe, and this also was a cause, that one army coulde not descrye
another. And as they thus marched (but the Venetians with swif-
ter pace) it happened that the foreward of the Frenchmen, wherein
were

were. b. C. men of armes, and the regiments of the Switzers vnder the cōduite of Charles de Amboise and Iohn Iames de Triulzi, were vppon a sodaine gotten very neare vnto the rereward of the Venetians ledde by Barthlomew de Aluiā, wherein were eight hundred men of armes, and almost all the beste footemen of the whole army, but in no very good array, because Aluiā did not thinke that day to fight. But when he salve his ennimies so neare vnto him, whether incited by his wonted heate, or for that he was broughte into that state that he muste needes fight, incontinently signified vnto the Earle of Petilia, who marched befoze with the vauntgarde, either his necessitie or purpose, requestting hym to come to his aide, to whome the earle answered, that he should marche on and shunne the confliate, for so both the reason of the warre required, and so the Senate of Venice also willed. But in the mean tyme Aluiā placing his footemen with fire great peeces on a little bay made to let the course of a certayne brooke then dry, which ran betwene the two armies, gaue a charge at his ennimies wyth suche violence and baloꝝ, that he disordersd them, being holpen herein, because the fight was begunne among certayne Vineyardes, where the Frenchmē could not for the vines redily vse their hoes: but this perill caused the king to come forwarde with the strength of the army, and therupon the auantgarde, and the middle battell charged on the souldiours, of Aluiā, who hauing conceyued greate hope of victoꝝy through the happy beginning, stode about hether and thether, in kindling and inciting his souldiours wyth most behemēt words, and very fierly fought they on both sides, the Frenchmen taking againe heart of grasse through the succour of their fellows, and also the battell being broughte into an open place, where they might freely vse their hoes, wherein they did farre ouermatche: besides they were not a little inflamed by the presence of the king, who taking no more care of himselfe, than if he had bin a priuate souldiour, lay open to the daunger of the ordinaunce, and cessed not (where need was) to commaund, encourage, and threaten his souldiours. On the other side, the Italians being made hardy by the first successe fought with incredible valiance, neither failed Aluiā in doing of any situation of a very excellent

cellent souldiour and chieftaine. At length when they had fought about. iij. hours with singular valiauty, the Venetian power hauing receined in the plaine and champaine field a great slaughter and discomfiture by the horsemen, and also the ground being made so slippery by a great shoure of raine which fel whilest they fought, the footmen coulde set no fast footing, & especially being destitute of the succoz of their felows, began to fight with great incontinencie, & yet neuertheless whē they fought with passing prowes (although now hope of victoꝝ was lost, rather for gloꝝ, thā for safety) made the victoꝝ bloody, & for a time doubtfull: but at the laste their strength being rather losse than their courage abated, they neuer turning their backs, were slaine where they stood, among whom Peter one of the house of the Marqueses of Monte Sanmaria in Toscan, a captain of a regiment of footemen, was much comended. This so stout valor of but one only part of the army, bred a constant opinion in many mens minds, that if the whole army of the Venetians had entred the battell, they had boꝝne away the victoꝝ. But the erle, whether because as he feared himself whō he turned about to fight, he was surchased by the sleing battell of Aluian, or as the reporte went, for that he had no hope of victoꝝ, and was very angry that Aluian durst fight contrary to his comendement, and had thought it better to haue that part of the army to be conserved, than the whole losse through anothers rashnesse, he kepte the greatest parte of the army from fighting. In this battell were few horsemen losse, the greatest slaughter lighted on the footemen of the Venetians, wherof some say there were. xij. M. slaine, other but only. vij. M. on both sides. Bartholmeu Daluian was broughte prisoner vnto the kings Tente with one of his eyes, and his face soꝝe brused and made blacke and blewe. twenty peces of great ordinaunce were taken, the rest of the army escaped, no man pursuing them. In the place where this battell was fought, the french king built a Chappell which he called Santa Maria victoria. After this overthrowe the Venetians were easly spoyled of almost all the Cities that they possessed in the maine land of Italy.

¶ The Battell of *Rauenna*, fought in *Italy*,
betwene Gascon of Foix Duke of Nemours,
generall for the Frenche king, Lewes the twelfth, and Reymund
de Cardonna, viceroy of Naples, & general for the king of Spayne,
and Iulius the Pope. Anno. 1512.



Ascon of Foix, Generall of the armye in
Italy, of Lewes the french king against
the Pope, hauing intelligence that the
power of the spaniards, and the Pope
were coming accordyng vnto their pro-
mise to succour Marke Anthony de Colona-
na besieged by hym in *Rauenna*, fearng
the irruption of Marke Anthony, brake by
the siege, and withdrew thre miles fro
the town towards the army of the league:

and that night making a bridge ouer the riuer of Ronco, & digging
downe tenell the bankes of the Riuer, that the souldiours might
in all places passe ouer moze easly, the eleuenth day of Aprill (be-
ing Easter day) the *Almaine* footemen passed ouer the Riuer by the
bridge, but all the souldiers of the forewarde, and middle battell
thorough the fozde: the reerwarde ledde by the Lord Iuo de Ale-
gres, in the whiche were foure hundred men of armes, remay-
ned on the banke of the Riuer towardes *Rauenna*: that if neede
should be they might aide the army, or else bryble the garrison and
townsmen of *Rauenna*, if they hapned to sally out: but to kepe the
bridge, which had before ben built vpon Montone, he left Paris Scot
wyth one thousand footemen, which being done, thus he aranged
his battels: the bauntgarde, (before whome went the great or-
dinaunce) consisting of seuen hundred men of armes, and *Almaine*
footemen, vnder the leading of the Duke of *Ferrara*, and the Sea-
nischall of *Normandie*, was placed on the banke of the riuer, which
was on their right hand: so that the footemen did flanke the leste
wing of the hoeremen. Nere to the footemen of the auauntgard,
were set the footmen of the middle battell being eight thousand,
parte *Gascoignes*, and parte of other Countreys of *Fraunce*: the
captaine of this battell was Alegres. Then further from the banks
of

The Battell of Rauenna.

45

of the riner stoode the rerewarde, who were Italian footemen, in number v. thousand, conducted by Federicke de Bozzolo. This battell was flanked by all the Archers on horsebacke, and the light horsemen beeing in number thre thousande. Behynde all these battailes, which stoode not directly one before another, but embowed like vnto a Croisauant or nelwe Poone were fife hundred men of armes placed, ledde by Seigneur de la Palice, and Cardinall Sanseuerino, Legate of the counsell of Pisa, assembled againste the Pope, a man of a mighty body, huge hearte, cladde from toppe to toe in very bright armour, accomplishyng rather the function of a Captaine, than a Cardinall or Legate. Foix leste no peculiar place or charge for hymselfe, but picking out of all the whole army thirty of the valiauntest Gentlemen, chose to bee free, to the ende hee might haue an eye to euery place, and to helpe all men.

And among all the rest was he most of marke, for the brightnesse and beautie of his armour and cote of armes, with his countenance very mery, and his eyes full of fiercenesse, and almoste sprinckling out fire for ioye. When hee sawe all his host ranged to fighte, mounting the baye of the ruer, that he might inflame his souldiers hartes, he spake with eloquence (as the report went more than warriourlike, in this maner :

That whiche yee haue so muche wished (my felow Souldiours) namely that ye might once come to encounter your enemies in the champaigne fields, see now fortune which hath bene vnto vs in so many victories a benigne mother hath giuen vs this daye, offering vs an occasion of winning wyth immortall gloire suche a victorie, as neuer chaunced wythin the memorye of man anye more magnificent, for nat only Rauenna and the cities of Romagna shal be wholly leste vnto your power, but shal be the leasse part of the rewardes of your prowesse, for no man more being leste in Italy, that can sette himselfe againste vs, we shal runne euen to Rome without any impediment : where the innumerable riches of that wicked Court, pulled so many ages out of the bowells of the Christians, shal bee your bootie and pillage : and yee shall gaine so many most proude ornaments, so muche siluer so much golde, so many pretious stones, so many most riche prisoners, that

C. ii.

the

the whole orbe of the worlde shall enuy your fortune, from Rome with the same facilitie shall ye run forward to Naples, and there reuenge so many receyued injuries: When I doe way your prowess, your fortune and your glorious victories, gotten wythin the space of a fewe dayes: when I doe beholde your comptenances and deedes: when I doe call to memory, that there are berpe feloe of you that haue not euen before mine eyes, giuen some notable prouf of your prowess, by doing of some egregiours acte, nothing doth come into my minde that may intercept from vs the felicitie of this victory. Our enemies are the same Spaniards that at our coming shameully fled out of Volongue by night, they are the same men, that but fewe dayes agoe, gotte themselves out of our hands, by no other meanes than running awaye, and taking the walles of Imola and Fauentza, or the mountaynes. This nation neuer fought with our armies in the Kingdome of Naples in any open or indifferent place, but always with the advantage and helpe either of munitions, riuers or ditches, not trusting to their valor, but to deceit & ambushes. And yet these Spaniards are not those olde beaten fellows in the Neapolitane warres, but fresh water souldiours, altogether unskilful, who neuer fought against any other weapons, than the bowes, arrowes, and blunt launces of the Moores, yea and yet by them a people weake of bodye, fearfull of heart, unarmed and ignorant of all parttiall aduersities, were they ouerthrowen the laste yeare with greate shame in the Isle of Gerbe: Where thys same Peter of Navarro a Captayne of so greate a name among them, gaue a notorious example by hys running awaye, what difference there is betwene shaking of walles by the surge of gunpowder, and syghting with true hardynesse and fortitude. Nowe they being shutte wythin a ditch, whyche they made thys night for trembling feare, and the footemen covered with a Rampyre, and trusting to their hooked Wagons, stande still, as though they shoulde trye the battell with these childishe instrumentes, and not with valour of heart, and strength of breaste and muscles: Seleue nice, oure greate ordinaunce shall soone force them oute of their holes and boroughes, and drue them into the open

and

Navarro
was Chief
of all of the
Spanish foot-
men, a man
of great skill
in vnder-
standing.

and playne fieldes. Where it shall appeare howe farre the
 force of the Frenchemenne, the fiercenesse of the Almaines, the
 noble prowesse of the Italians, doeth excell the craftinesse, and
 deceytes of the Spaniardes. Nothing can diminishe oure glorie,
 but that wee doe so muche ouermatche them in number, that
 is to witte, almost double: and yet to vse thys commoditie gy-
 uen vnto vs by fortune, shall not bee ascribed vnto oure da-
 wardye, but vnto their imprudence and rashnesse, whome
 not courage nor valiauntnesse, but the auctoritie of Fabri-
 cio de Colonna, for hys promises rashely made vnto Marke
 Anthony, or rather the Justice of God doeth dralve therevnto,
 that the pryde, and vspeakeable heynous faces of Julius the
 false counterfaite Pope, and so manye deceytes and treache-
 ries of the Kyng of Arragon, againste the goodnesse of oure
 Kyng, maye bee moste iustlye punished. But whye doe
 I vse manye wordes: whye doe I so long deferre the vi-
 ctorye by adhortations, altogither vncedefull vnto Souldiours
 of so greate valoure, as I doe fondlye spende tyme in speaking
 vnto you: Marche on (valiaunte heartes) in your appoynt-
 ed arraye, wyth full assuraunce that I shall thys daye gyue the
 Empire of all Italy vnto my Prince, and the riches thereof vnto
 you. Your Chieftains will be with you at all places, and as I
 vsually haue done, so nowe also will I laye open my life vnto all
 perilles: accompting my selfe the moste fortunate Captaine of
 all that euer haue bene, sithens that throughe this dayes victorie
 I shall make my Souldiours the moste glorious and the richest
 of all the souldiours and armies that haue bene these three hun-
 dred yeares.

This Oration being ended, and the aile ringing with the noise
 of the trumpets, drums and the most ioyfull acclamations of the
 whole armye, they began to march towarde the Campe of their
 enemies, not two miles distant from the place where they hadde
 passed ouer the riuer: which campe of the cōfederats was pitched
 along the banke of the riuer: on their left side was the riuer: and
 a ditch (as deepe as the shortnesse of the tyme hadde permitted
 to bee made) defended all the whole Campe on the right syde.

In the fore frant they had lefte open the space of twentye yardes, that they might make excursions wyth theyr horses: As soone as they perceyued that the Frenchemen were passed the river, they thus ranged theyr battells: The vauntgarde of eyght hundred men of armes, ledde by *Fabricio de Colonna* highe Constable of Naples, was placed along the banke of the River, vnto whom were adioyned on the right hande five thousande footemen, also along the river stood the middle battaile of five hundred men of armes, flanked with foure thousande footemen, the leader whereof was the Viceroy himself, and with him were the Marquesse of Palude, and the Popes Legate *John de Medici*. Moreouer along the same banke of the river stood the reerwarde conducted by *Carniall* a Spaniarde: in that battell were foure hundred men of armes, and foure thousande footemen, all the light horsemen (whose Generall was *Daualos* Marquesse of Pescara, a verie young Gentleman, but of passyng greate hope) guarded the right syde of the footemen behinde, that they might succour that part that fainted: the great ordinance was placed in the front of the men of armes, and *Peter de Nauarro*, the Generall of the Spanish footemen accompanied with five hundred horsemen, had tyed hymselfe to no certain place, but had sette at the ditche in the front of the footemen, thirtie Wagons lyke vnto the hooked Chariotes, vsed in auncient time: Wherevpon he had placed sigde perces, and very long boare spears to sustain the more easely the furious feale and charge of the Frenchemen: in which order they expected the impression and charge of their enemies strong armye wythin the munition of the ditche, the which counsell, as in the ende it profited nothing, so did it appeare at the beginning to be pernicious, for it was the minde of *Fabricio de Colonna* to invade the enemies as soone as they beganne to passe over the river, thinking it more commodious to encounter with one only parte of the enemies, than to abide in the camp defenced with a single ditch: but when *Peter de Nauarro* (whose counsell the Viceroy dyd folowe, as oracles) repugned, it was decreed (thoughe nothing prudentely) that they should be suffered to passe over the river. Now the Frenchmen being come within two hundred paces of the ditche, stayed when

When they saw their enemies kept themselves within their Campe, not stirring one foote, least that otherwise they should giue their enemy that aduantage whiche themselves desired to haue: so both armies stood stonde still aboue two houres, but innumerable pellets were in the meane time shot out of the great ordinance on eyther syde, by whome, the frenche footemen suffered not a little detriment: for Nauarro had planted his ordinance in suche a place, as he might muche hurt them: but the Duke of Ferrara with great celeritie brought a part of the great ordinance behinde the army vnto another wing of the frenchmen, where the archers on horsebacke stood, which wing bycause the army was of the forme of a croissant, was almost on the backe of the enemies, from whence he began cruelly to flanke their sydes with very great detriment, and namely of the horsemen, for the Spanish footemen being brought by Nauarro into a lowe place along the rampyre of the riuer, and by his commaundement layde flat on the ground, could not be hit. Fabricio called out with a loude voice, and vrged the Viceroy, with thicke sending of messengers, to begin the battell, before they were abused by the fury of the great ordinance: but Nauarro being led by peruerse ambition, would not assent, for sence he had promised himselfe victorie, thorough the valor of the Spanish footemen, yea, though all the rest of the army were slayne, he thought that his glory would be the more augmented, the more the detriments of the rest of the army were heaped. But now the men of armes and light horsemen, had sustained so greate slaughter, that it coulde be no longer borne, and with a miserable spectacle mingled with horrible cries, now horsemen, now horses, fell downe dead, now heads and armes torne off from the rest of the bodye, were seene flying in the aire, whereat Fabricio exclaiming, And must we all (quoth he) shamefully dye through the wilfulnesse and peruersenesse of one Maran, and must this armie be utterly all losse, not one enemy slayne by vs: Where be our so many tropheys of the frenchmen: must the honour of Spayne and Italy perish for the pleasure of only Nauarro: and when he had spoken these wordes, no longer staying eyther for the signall, or commaundement of the Viceroy,

The Battell of Rauenna.

he draue his Horsemen ouer the ditch, whome when the rest of the Horsemen followed, *Nauarro* was forced presently to giue the signall vnto his Regiment, who rising vp with great ferocitie, encountered the *Almaines* which had now approached them, so all the battels on both sydes being mixed, a maruellous mightie battell was begun, and the greatest without doubt, that *Italy* had seene in many yeares, for that at *Tarro* was scarce any thing else, but a strong encounter of Horsemen, and the battels in the Kingdome of *Naples* were rather disorderings of array, or rash attemptes thā battels, and at *Giara d'Acqua*, the smallest part of the *Venetian* power had fought: but here all of both sydes, being mixed together in a playne, without impedimente of waters or munitions, two mightie armies fought with hartes firmly fastned, eyther to vanquish or dye, being inflamed not only by perill, glazy, and hope, but also with the mutuall hatred that the nations bare euery one to other.

In the encounter of the *Almaine* footemen with the *Spany* ardes, two Colonels of greate fame, named *Iacob Emser* an *Almaine*, and *Zamude* a *Spany*ard, fought as it were by challenge before the frontes of the battels, in whiche fighte, the *Spany*arde slaying his enemy, became victor. The Horsemen of the confederates were not comparable vnto the *French* Horsemen: besydes, they had bin that day so endamaged, and torne by the ordinaunce, that they were made farre inferioure, so that after they had a while susteyned the force of their enemies, rather by stoutenesse of hart, than strength of body, and *Alces* sending for *Palice* with the reereward, and also the thousande footemen, which had bin left at *Montone*, had charged them on the syde, and *Fabricio de Colonna* fighting very valiauntly, had bin taken by the Souldyers of the Duke of *Ferrara*, they seeing themselves no longer able to beare the force of their enemies, and also taught by the examples of theyr chiefetaynes, turned theyr backs. For the *Viceroy* and *Carnati*all neuer tarrying the vttermost triall of the valour of the Souldyers, fledde, leading alway with them the reerwarde almost whole and vntouched, with whome also fledde *Antony de Le-
#4*, a man then of low state, but one that afterwarde being exerci-
sed by

The Battell of Rauenna.

51

led by the space of many yeares, in all degrees of martiall service, became a verie famous Generall.

Nowe all the lyghte Horsemenne were ouerthrowen, and Pescara theyr Captayne wette wyth bloud and woundes, was taken with hym, and also the Parquesse of Palude, who hadde broughte into the fyghte the seconde battell, through a fielde full of ditches, bulhes, and byers, whyche muche disordred the aray: and besydes that, the grounde was nowe couered ouer wyth the carkasses of Horses, and men slayne, whyche was no small hynderaunce vnto them. But yet the Spanishe footemen, baying forsaken of the Horsemenne, foughte with incredible fiercenesse, who although they hadde bin a little drien backe at the fyrste encounter wyth the Almanes, by reason of the strong ranks of theyr pykes, yet after they came within the length of theyr Swordes, and manye of the Spanyardes baying couered wyth Targettes, hadde gotte betwæne the legges of the Almanes, thrusting them in, in those vnarmed places wyth theyr daggers, and commyttynge a greate slaughter, they were nowe come almost vnto the middes of y^e battel, among whome, the Gascoigne footemen hauing gotten the way betwæne the Riuer, and the Rampyre, had charged the Italian footemenne, who although they hadde receyued greate losse by the greate ordinaunce, yet hadde repelled them to theyr singular commendation, if Alegres hadde not gyuen a violente charge on them wyth hys Horsemen, wyth greater force, than god fortune: for when he sawe hys sonne Viuerroes slayne in his sight almost at the very fyrst encounter, he vnwilling to lye after so greate grieve, slang in wyth hys Horse into the thickest of hys enimies, and fyghtyng as became a most valiaunte Captayne, after he had slayne many, was slayne hymselfe.

The Italian footemenne, when they coude no longer suffer so greate a multitude, beganne to shrink, but parte of the Spanyardes commynge to theyr succoure, they kepte styll in the battayle, and the Almane footemenne being oppressed by the other parte of the Spanyardes, coude scarce stande vpp anye longer. But nowe all the Horsemenne
H.y. being

The Battell of Rauenna.

being put to flight, Foix with a great multitude of Hozemen, sette on the Spanyards, who rather retiring, thā quuen out of the field, did with their aray in no parte broken, take the way that lyeth betwene the river and the high banke, marching with equall pace with their front very thicke of men, and so repelling the Frenchmen with the strength thereof, began to retire and departe out of the field, whiche Nauarro beholding, was more desyrous of deathe than of life, and therefore not departing out of the battell, was taken prisoner: but when Foix coulde not abyde to see the Spanishe footemen thus goe away safely, and victor-like, with their whole rankes unbroken, and perceyued that the victorie was imperfect, vnlesse they were broken as well as the rest, in great fury charged on the tayle of them with a troupe of Hozemen: but he incontinently being enclosed by them, and throlwen off from his Hozse, or as diuers say, oppressed with the foundering of his Hozse, was slayne with a pyke thrust into his syde: and certesse, if they cught to wishe for deathe, as the common opinion is, that are come vnto the highest degre of felicitie, then doubtlesse this noble Gentlemans death was most fortunate, hauing gotten so glorious a victorie. He dyed a very yong man, hauing now wonne among all men immortall fame, for that within the space of thre monethes, being a Generall almost before he was a Squidder, he had with incredible celeritie and ferocitie gotten so many victories. The Lord Lautrech (his Cousin germaine) beeyng hurt wth twentye woundes, lay besydes him almost dead, but beeyng carried to Ferrara, was saued by the diligent cure of the Chirurgians. Thorough the deathe of Foix, the Spanishe footemen were suffered to go theyr wayes without impeachment. The rest of the army was nowe scattered and put to flight, all the bagge and baggage taken, toggyther with the ensignes and ordinance: and y^e Popes Legate, Iohn de Medici, Fabricio de Colonna, Nauarro, and y^e Marqueses of Palude, Bitonto, and Pescara, and many other Princes, the chiefe of the nobilitie, and men of name of the Spanyards, and Neapolitanes. The number of them that were slayne in this battell, is altoggyther vncertaine, yet among the varietie of many reports, most do affirme, that on both sydes, there were at the least tenne thousand slayne,

of whome the third part were Frenchmen, and the rest of their enemies: but without all doubt, according vnto the common manner of Mars, the valiaunttest and the stoutest men, among whome of the Papistes or the Popes bandes was Raphaell de Pazi, a Captayne of famous renoune, and innumerable were hurt. But without consideration of the death of Foix, Alegres, and many of the French nobilitie, and of Iacob, and other of the valiaunttest Captaines of the Albaine souldiers, vnto whose prowesse this victorie bought with no little effusion of bloud, was chiefly attributed. Moreover, many of the Captaynes of the Gascoignes and Picardes (the which nations that day lost all their glory among the Frenchmen) were slaine with Monsieur de Molard, but the death of Foix surpassed all other losses, with whome the courage, strength, life, and fiercenesse of that army was utterly extinguished. The greatest part of the vanquished that escaped out of the battell, fledde vnto Cesena, and from thence vnto farther places, neyther dyd the Viceroy stay anye where, before he came to Ancona, whither he brought but very few souldiers, many being spoyle and slayne in their flight, for the Duke of Urbine not only stirred vp the Countrey men against the, but also sent souldiers to doe the like in Pesaro, they only escaped safely that passed through the dominions of the florentines. But although that after this battell the victor army toke and sacked Rauenna, yet within very short time, when the covetous Treasurer of Normandy to save charges, had dismissed the Italian souldiers, and part of the men of armes had returned into France, and

the Emperoure had reuoked the Almaynes, they were by a newe army of Switzers, that came downe to the Popes aide, with whome also ioynded the Venetians, quite dispossessed of the whole Duchie of Milane, and all that euer the French King had in Italy besides.

¶ The Battell of *Riotta* or *Nouara*, fought in the Duchie of Milan, betwene Iohn Trivulzi, and the Lord Tremouille, Generalles for the French King Lewes the twelfth on the one syde, and Maximilian Sforza, the Duke of Milan, and the Switzers on the other, in Anno. 1513, out of Iouius his historie.



The French King Lewes the twelfth, not broking his losse of Milan, chose two Captaynes of greate authoritie and skill to passe the Alpes: they were Trivulzi and Tremouille: and also sent for Robert de la March out of the lande of Luke, with the blacke regiment of Almanynes, and Lewes Lorde Beaumont out of the frontiers of Nauarre, with those bands of Gascoignes that serued Seigneur de la Palice a little before at Pampelona againste the Spaniards.

Among them he also mingled certayne ensignes of footemen, consisting of very chosen men: for then euery Gentleman whyche was not appoynted vnto an Horse, dyd with singular cherefulness thinke it for hys worshippe to serue on fote.

All thys poluer beinge verie well appoynted, with a greate furniture of greate ordinaunce, hee commaunded to hasten into Italy. Maximilian Sforza the Duke of Milane, hauyng intelligence of this prouision in Fraunce agaynst hym, solliciteth the Switzers to come into Lumbardy in hys defence, the whyche hee easily obteyneth. And firste of all, the Hamans or Maiors of the Cantons of Vry, Switz, and Vnderwald, as nere vnto Italy, passed the Alpes, whome the bandes of Glaron, Zuch, Lacerne, Sciphausen, Zurich, and Berne followed in another companie. And in the thirde and last companie were fyue thousande footemen, vnder the conduct of Altosaxe an experte Captayne. But Sforza beinge dismayde wpth the vnlooked for reuolting of Sacranoro Visconti, who kepte aboute him at Milane a great number of desperate vntayntes, as well of the nobilitie, as other, ioynd with the first company of the Switzers, and wente to Nouara, there to crispe (farre from priue awaytes

waytes and Treason) the consuming of the rest of the Switzers.

The frenche power came before the Towne of Nouara, but when they had intelligence that the second compaigne of the Switzers were at hande, and also that Alcosaxe was at Galarita, they withdrew to a place called RIOTTA, twentye furlongs from Nouara, nere to the Riuer of Mora. But as sone as euer the seconde compaigne of the Switzers hadde entred the Towne, and broken their fast, the Captaynes assembled together to consulte what was best to be done, where Craffe the Haman of Zurich rising vpp, sayde, I beseeche you inuincible brethren, suffer not the exployte that ye haue wyth valiaunte heartes determined, to be corrupted through the vntymely staying for Alcosaxe and his compaigne, for the safest and happiest way to good successe will doubtlesse fall out, to be only by celeritie. Neyther neede we (that are rightly and valiauntly resolued) ought else than speedie execution, least we may nothing couragiously sayle vnto so great occasion whych is offered vnto vs, to put vs in hope of a sayre daye, whych yet may be preuented by a light momente of tyme, for yee a fewe bandes of inuincible valor will be ynough to oppresse the enimies, whylest they thynke we wyll attempt nothing before Alcosaxe be ioyned wyth vs, let vs therefore vse their error, and by an vnlooked for onset, bring suddayne terror not without assured slaughter and flight, into the heartes of the enimie, puffed vp wyth vndrauided pride, and erronious opinion: doubtlesse we haue alreadye vanquished, if the victorie conceived and assured by this honozable deuise and counsell, be presently pursued by fearelesse heartes, and valiaunt armies. Craffe had no soner ended his speche, but all the Captaynes and ensigne bearers without stay, assented vnto him, and grauely consulted vppon the manner how to attache the battell, wherebpon the Souldoyers were commaunded to refresh their bodies with meate and rest, and to repaire vnto the ensignes after y^e secōd watch, & then y^e Captayns shoulde tel the before y^e dayning, what they would haue done. Now whylest all mens mindes were musing on y^e euent of the future fight, & the Sunne was now going downe, beholde, a wonderful chance hapened: a y^e frechmēs degges foraking

forſaking their Camp, entred Nouara in one great troupe, and began to licke the handes and legges of the Switzers that warded, and wagging their tayles, and laying downe their eares, ſalued now vpon one, and the vpon another of them, as though they were now become their Maſters, or ſhortly after ſhould. But the Switzers (to the end they might make a ſhew, that they meant ſome other thing than that they intended indeed,) commaunded þ Drummes to be ſounded all the whole night, now in this part of the Citie, and nowe in that, to make the eſpyes, if there were any in the Citie, to beleue that they would iſſue out of the Towne, and thereby keepe their enimies, who they knewe had bin in armour all the whole day on Hoſebacke, armed alſo all the night long. But they commaunded all their owne men to ſtrengthen their bodyes wth ſleepe, and to ſtay for day, that every man might in the clere light ſhewe his valor, with a noble contention for honor. For theſe are the moſt ſeuere lawes of the Switzers, that whoſoeuer ſhall in the ſight of the armie doe things for feare, whiche are ſhamefull and vnnete for valiaunt menne, ſhall be incontinently ſlayne by their nerte fellowes, ſo that the greater feare doth ſuercome the leſſe, and for doubt of a ſhamefull death, an honorable death is not feared. Now a little befoze it was light, the Captaynes choſe out of all their armie (whiche was about nine thouſand ſotemen) one thouſande men of approued prowelle, who ſhould haue the charge of eyghte falkons, and accompany Maximilian and his Hoſemen, who were very fewe, but of the chiefe of the nobilitie. The reſt dyd caſt themſelues into two battels, and marched all whiſt without ſounde of Drumme towardes their enimies two diuers wayes. But Trinuizi, who although he were accompted a Captayne of approued and beaten wiſedome, yet thoughte nothing leſſe than that a fewe, and thoſe weary ſotemen, woulde befoze Altoſaxe were come, iſſue out againſt a very ſtrong power, or attempt any thing touching the fortune of the battell. When he vnderſtoode that the enimies power was in ſyght, repleth vp Tremouille, and the reſt of the Captaynes, commaundeth the ſignals to be ſounded, & the ordinance to be placed againſt the enimie, and all things that he hadde learned by experiance and diſcipline, to be adminiſtred according
to

to the necessity of the perill. The shortnesse of the tyme was suche, and the heartes of the enemies so ready to fighte, that the French horsemen had scarce tyme to bridle their horses, and put on their heade peeces: as they which had stood a greate parte of the day and night in armour, attending what shoulde bee commaunded them: and at length though very late, when newes was broughte that all was quiet at Nouara, had gotte them into their cabines to take their resse. But the light horsemen, as men sooner ready, in good time enoughe ranne forth with a very long wing stretched towards the lefte hande, and mette with the thousande Switzers as they were running, who, that they mighte auoide the greate ordinaunce, that nowe tempestted vpon them, marched towardes the river of Mora, fetching a little compasse aboute, and then minded to passe over the river by a bridge, and set vpon the backs and tentes of the enemies. Thus the Switzers marching on towardes the bridge in a broad waue, beganne to be torne in peeces with the ordinaunce whych flanked them on the side, and to be vehemently pressed by the horsemen. But then Mottine wpyth vnappalled hearte altered hys counsell, and willed Maximilian (who was in great danger, the Epirotes insulting round about him) to depart out of the fight, and incontinently to returne vnto the Citie, that so he might keepe the heade of the warres, which then laye open vnto the acerbities of fortune, for to enioye the noble hoped victory. But when hee nobly refused so to doe, and with constant hearte desired that he might be suffered to take the chaunce of common fortune, two pety Captaines, and so many ensigne bearers, tooke his horse by the bridle, and pulling off the crest from his helmet, and casting about hym an olde cloke to hide his coate armoure, ledde him out of the field, forcing him to returne vnto the citie with a troupe of horsemen, that hee being a daungerlesse beholder of their prowesse, myghte there expecte the newes of speedy victory. Mottine being thus deliuered of that wofulnesse, relieth his swaying battell, which had nowe lost thre of their Falkons, wpythdraweth the wounded into the midles of the battell, and with greate force beates backe the insulting Epirotes, and slaying Alexio Bosigno, a noble Gecke their captain, giveth

defeateth them. And with the same lease is also carryed into the ennimies Campe, and there the drudges and stragglers beeing slayne, and the Souldiours of the station disordered, tooke the carriages and baggage: But a little before these thynges were doone by Mottine, another company takyng a longer iourneye thorough the Corne fieldes then growen vppe, and thereby receyving small hurte by the ordinaunce, had charged the syde of the enemye.

The frenche power was deuided into three battailes: Tremouille and De la Marche hauing the leadyng of the wyngs, and Trivulzi of the middle battayle: and the Batallion of the Lancesquenetz hadde gotten them within a ditch betweene the battailes of the horsemenne, bycause theye Trenches beeing of a newe and wonderfull workmanship invented by Roberte de la March, for to enclose them agaynst the chaunce of battayle, coude not bee pitched and sette vp in that suddayne comyng of the ennemie.

Vppon this Squadron of the Almaynes, the Switzers bynyng about their battell towarde the right hande, courageously tourned them selues, for that they vnderstoode the victorie woulde bee easely obtained, after they had once defeated the chiefest force of their enemies armye.

The frenche Captaynes seeing this, incontinently commaunded the greate ordinaunce to bee shotte off vppon them: the ranks to bee broken thorough with greate slaughter, and anon after the menne of armes also vehemently charged them on the leste syde. In this tumulte the Amans of Berne and Zuche were slaine: yet the Souldiours nothyng appalled with their Captaines deatnes, neyther with their owne perill, nor the horrible slaughter of their fellows, gathering their strength together, do cast them selues into a ring, and with greate valoure doe propell the horsemen: and straightway, as they had before determined, passing ouer the ditch, set vppon the Almaynes. Where vppon incontinently began a bloudye and cruell fight, yea and that without either wordes or noyse on eyther side, sayng onely an horrible clashing of armour and weapons, and the softe sighes

of them that fell downe deade.

The *Almaines* that they might reuenge the slaughter of their countrey men the lasse yeare at *Pauid*, and now by newe renowne redeme the gloz of warfare, lost fourteene yeares befoze at *Bruderholtz* in the confines of *Basill*, foughte very fiercely. But the *Switzers*, that they myght yet one daye quite destroye their olde and peculiar enimies, fellows that had runne out of *Germanie*, and serued the *French* kyng in reproche of the Emperour, were no whitte behind either in strength or seruencie of courage.

But whilest the *Switzers* and *Almaines* thus fought at push of pike, newes was brought vnto *Trivulzi* and *Tremouille*, that the baggage was taken, those that were appoynted to keepe the Campe flayne, and all places fylled full of tumulte and slaughter. The same whereof, so troubled the *Frenchmens* myndes, that a greate parte of the horsemen (every man being carefull for his bagge and baggage,) ranne thither without commandement, to recover the praye.

Also in another quarter almoste at the same instant, the third compaignie or battell of the *Switzers*, shewed themselves at the fronte of the *Frenchmen*. which battell (whilest the *Frenchmen* hadde in vayne shotte off their ordinance into the woodde that stood before them, by reason the *Switzers* to deceiue the enimies had politikely lefte among the trees certayne vnprofitable bridges, to make a shewe of armed men) hadde crepte along by a syde way, by little and little coupyng and traylyng they pyked after them.

And nowe so greate was their contempt of the flying bullets and so terrible their charge, that the *French* and *Nauarrine* footmen (their Captaine *Beaumont* being slayne) and two bandes of *Genouese* and *Salucians*, were quickly defeated, and also their ordinance taken and turned on the backs of them that fled. When the reste of the horsemen sawe the greate ordinance gotten by the enimie, in whome the *Frenchmen* hadde in all waies reposed moze truste, than in their armes and prowesse, that the *Almaines* were nowe almoste quite destroyed, their tents taken, the enimie ouerthrowing all, & now large lords of the field, betwene

Shame and feare they touned their backs. When all men were thus dishayed, the Capitaines themselues were fearelesse enough (considering the fearefulnesse of the state) and went about to rallye the rankes that were disordered, and turned them selues towarde the dissonant cries of their own fellowes, made them to abide and fighte, encouraged the petye Capitaines and ensigne bearers to put away feare, and so long to susteine a selve peasants of weary, vnarmed and nowe weakened wth woundes, untill the lighte armed had enclosed them. The Lansquenets beare the brunt of the battell, and the fight is repaired in all places. But the horsemen being nothing moued wth the wordes of the encouraging and commaunding capitaines, shamefull ye sive: For the Switzers although the Captaine Mottine were slaine by a peece of ordinaunce, yet hauing gotten the Campe, did al bloody fiercely invade the lefte side of the horsemen, and on the righte syde, and on the back a greater power with terrible pikes, did very sharply bge the affrighted and disordered horsemen. There perished in repairing the helde, Monfalcon Captaine of the Duke of Albanies compaigne of horsemen, and Coriolano Tribulzi, a yong Gentleman of singular hope. But the Almaines, who leeling halfe their men and two enignes, and their Generall Floranges greuously hurte, had soughte very constantly a long time: Nowe when they sawe themselues to bee forsaken by the horsemen, and the reste of the footemen in all quarters to be defeated, and the great ordinaunce taken: thinking that flight was shamefull, and yet nothing safe, did set the points of their weapons vpright accordyng vnto their manner and yelded themselues, seeking mercey of the victor enemye. In this grieuous vproare Robert de la March Lord of Cesdan, attached with impotent sorow to see his two sonnes the lords Floranges and Gemese enclosed by the enemye, and almoste in desperate daunger of life, burst in euen into the midst of his enemies battell wth a troupe of horsemen, and toke them vpye lye among the dead bodies miserably betrayed and embued wth the bloude of their woundes, and being halfe dead, layde them ouerthwarte the neckes of two horses, like vnto twoo cloke bagges: and thus wth singular pteise bothe of fatherly pittie and warlike prowesse,

proweste, he caried them away, preferring their liues to purchase
renowne in future and more fortunate fieldes. Thus the Swit-
zers fighting in thre compaignes or battells, within an houre and
an halfe dyspatched and finished a famous battell, and a moste
weyghtye warre. Perther yet althoughe the Switzers saue so
many of their enemies lyfe &aine before their face, canne they once
to the spoyle, notwithstanding that pretious furniture of house-
hold, and al the baggage of the riche army did allure their minds:
for they remembreing their country discipline, which doth not per-
mitte them to take anye armed man prisoner in the battell, nor to
pursue any that flieth: stode still a great part of the day, fearing
lest the French horsmen incited either throught the policie of their
Captaines, or theyr owne shame, would come backe againe, and
oppresse them while they were busied in spoiling the deade. But
their enemies ranne away wpth suche feare and pertinacie: that
Trivulzi galloping to & fro all dustie and hoarse with crying on-
to them, was not able eyther by faire or soule speache, or the au-
thoritie of Generall, to stay the ensignes, or to retaine the horse-
men that casting away their launces, gallopped away sozemoost.
It is well knowne, that Gruttie the Venetian Prouiditor, who be-
ing a companion of this vnluckye iourney ran away with them,
oftentimes sayde among this compaign of halting horsmen: Bee
olde horsmen that flyng away so faste vppon the spurre to day,
bee not the men of armes of the Venetians, but those noble Gen-
tlemen of France, that vsed to cal them women runaways. Certes
it neuer happened before, that Captains, (at all other times in-
uincible and fortunate,) being furnished wpth so great an army,
were defeated by a selue footemen, fortune nowe listing to spoyle
a little. It is reported that the French horsmen might haue bin
all wholly destroyed in their flighte, if Maximilian sforza had had
but two hundreth men of armes, for not one of the French horse-
men caried launce beyonde sesithes (so greafe was their heate to
escape) yet a while after Siluio Sabello, and Corradino Cribelly, wit
certaine light horsmen, pursued them euen to the towne of Treca-
to. But the Contadmes or Desantes running out of the fieldes and
hainlets vnto the spoile, cruelly slue whers they sawe any bootie,

the dispersed and fearefull Frenchemenne wearied, and quite spent, at ditches, hedges and all other places that didde lette their course. The same daye the Switzers gathering together the slaine bodies of their countrymen, caried them on their shoulders into the Citie, that the lasse honoures myght lustily be done vnto them that had singularly wel deserued of the common wealth.

There were slaine of them in this victorie aboute a thousande three hundredeth, of whome they broughte into the Towne aboue seven hundredeth torne into peces with the great ordinaunce, and almoste as many were wounded. But on the French part were slaine to the number of eight thousande of all sortes. Among the Captaines of the Switzers, the almoste monstrous valor of Jordan of Vnderwalde was spectally noted, who (by the credible report of many,) slewe twenty of his enimies with his halberde, carrying away the luste rewardes of assured praise. But Maximilian being very topfull for so happy successe, called the Souldiours together, and the teares trickling downe his cheeks, & scarce able to speake for joy, he gaue them all hartp thanks, and that whych might be a gift of present pleasure, he gaue them in rewarde of their prowesse all the victualles that was taken, to be deuided among them, besides the ordinaunce and all the spoyle and praye that was gotten. But the trench that was taken from the enimie, hee sette vpp in a publique place, as a monumente of the victorie: And forasmuche as we haue seene the maner of the making thereof, wee doe thinke it good to describe the same, that it may be both a paterne and also profitable vnto the posteritie.

A square plotte of fifty paces euery waye, like vnto a small Campe being measured out, foure strong postes sharpened at the ende, were driuen into the grounde at euery angle one, standing aboute the grounde nauell highe: the sides were defended with lesser posts or stakes, a certaine space being leste betweene post and post: betweene the postes went rayles, which they might take off and on, they being fastened together with yron hookes or claspes. The Almains stode within this munition, which was defended rounde about wyth almoste an hundredeth Harquebuzers a crosse. Through the defence thereof, Sedan had thought verily that the

force of his assailing ententes would not only haue bene suffe-
ned, but cleane dashed broken and defeated, for he was of the
belefe, that the Switzers before they could come to vse their pikes
and to hande strokes, shoulde be paide for their inconsiderate in-
nation: It being likely that the esquadron terrible, for their pikes,
and safe and invincible for their strength, wold defend the trench,
and at length opening the munition, breake out vpon the disorde-
red enemies, and so obteyne an vndoubted victoꝝy.

But this engine inuented by a warlike witte, and brought o-
uer the Alpes with so greate labour and charges, as 'it did' great-
ly delight the eyes of the beholders both for the noueltie of the fa-
shion and the hope of victoꝝy: so Fortune after hir wonted guile
scorning such subtile inuentions, tooke successe quite away from
reason, and the woꝝke, when it shoulde haue taken moste ef-
fecte. But thys deceyued the Almaines, that they thought it not
nedefull that day to set vpp the trench, which lay in the Ma-
gons, seeing the camp did then go backe from the enimie. When
hee was conferred wth Tremouille at Bolongne about these matters,
he did not fondly laye the faulte in Trivulzi, as thonghe that hee
would not encampe (as Tremouille hadde perswaded hym) on his
owne landes, for destroying of the grasse that then was ready to
be mowen. But Trivulzi as he that had neuer bene vanquished
before, when hee declared muche of the euente of this battell, did
referre it wholly vnto the infurie that was fatall vnto his re-
nowne: for hee sayde, that the skillfullest Captayne in the
worlde coulde not by any meanes redresse rashe
men and Souldiours, made sturke staring
madde by degenerate feare.

64 The Battel of *Gingbat*, fought in *Picardie*
betweene Henry the eight King of England,
and Monsieur de Piennes, generali for Lewes the French king,
in Anno Domin. 1513.



Then that HENRY the eight king of
Englande, besieged the Citie of *Tyrwin*
with thre camps, of whom himself co-
ducted one, the Earle of *Shrewsbury*
an other, and the Lord *Herbert* the thirde:
he had intelligence y^e Lewes the French
king had leuted an armie vnder the con-
duct of the Lord *Piennes*, for to victual the
Citie, whiche was soze oppressed wyth
penurie. Whereupon King HENRY passed ouer the river with
all the retinue of his owne camp, & his ordinaunce, for to impeach
the French passage in that parte. In the meane season a French
man beeing taken in skirmishe, in hope of pardon of his cap-
taine, declared that the French armie with their full power and
strength, were comming from *Blangie*, to the number of fifteene
thousande horsemen to ayde *Terwyn*, on that side of the water.
And to the intent that the armie of the Earle of *Shrewsbury* and
the Lord *Herbert* should not ayde the King: there were appoin-
ted fife thousand of the fifteene thousand, on the other side of the
water, to inuade them on the other side of the water.

The King had no sower pitched his field, and sette in order his
ordinaunce, but that he was aduertised by the Northern pickers,
that the Frenchemen to the number of twelue thousande were
comming forwarde in array of battell. Whereupon some coun-
celled the King to take downe his tentes, but the King said, I wil
this day that my fieelde be made and sette in as royall wise as may
bee, and all my riche tentes sette vpp: whych was done. Then
the King called the Lord *Darcie*, and commaunded him to keepe
his fieelde, treasure, ordinaunce, and other stuffe: who was loath
to goe from his maister, but by straight commaundement. Then
euery man prepared hymselfe to battell, resorting vnto the stan-
dard, the horsemen marched befoze the footemen by the space of a
mile:

while: still came Curriours bearing tidings that the French armye approached. The King had set forward in the name of God and S. George. The Almaines (that serued the King) seeing this, to what purpose it was not knowen, suddaynely embattayled theselues on the left hand of the King, and left the front or best of the Kings battayle bare.

As the King was thus marching forward towards the battaile, to him came the Emperoure Maximilian with thirtie me of armes, he and all his company armed in one sute, with redde Crosses: then by the counsaile of the Emperoure, the King caused certaine fieelde pierces to be layde on the toppe of a long hyl or banke, for the out-scourers. Thus the Kings Horsemen, and a few archers on Horsebacke marched forward. The King would haue bin afoze with the Horsemen, but his Counsaile perswaded him the contrarie, and so he tarried with the footemenne, accompanied with the Emperoure.

The Frenchmen came on in thre rankes, sixe and thirtie mens thickeesse, and well they perceyued the Kings battaile of footemen marching forward: the Earle of Essex, Captayne of the Horsemen, and Sir Iohn Peche with the Kings Horsemen, and the Burgonions to the number of eleuen hundredeth, stode with banners displayed in a valley. The Lorde Wallon, and the Lord Ligny with bastarde Emery (Burgonions) and their bands, to the number of foure hundred Horsemen, seuered themselves, and stode asyde from the Englishmen: so then the Englishmen were but seuen hundredeth, yet they with banner displayed, removed vp to the toppe of the hyl, and there they mette with Sir Henry Guilforde, with an hundredeth tall Archers on Horsebacke, whiche had askryed the Frenchmen. Nowe on the toppe of the hyl was a faire playne of good grounde: on the left hand a lowe wodde, and on the right hand a fallow fieelde. The Lord Wallon and the Burgonions kept them alofe, then appeared in sighte, the Frenchmen with banners and standerdes displayed. Then came to the Captaines of the Englishmen of armes, an English officer of armes, called Clarenseux, and sayd, in Gods name set forward, for the victorie is poures, for I see by them that they wol not abyde, and I will goe with you in my coate of armes. Then

The Battell of Ginghat.

the Horsemen did set forward, and the archers alighted, and were set in order by an hedge all along a village called Bomy: the Frenchmen came on with thre and thirtie standerdes displayed, and the Archers shotte apace, and galled their Horses, and the English speares set on freshly, crying Saint George, and fought valiantly with the Frenchmen, and threw downe their standerdes, the dust was great, and the crye more, but suddainely the Frenchmen shoked to their standerdes, and fledde, and threw away theyr speares, swords, and paces, and cutte off the barbes of theyr Horses to rume the lighter. When the hinder part saw the former part flie, they fledde also, but the sooner for one cause, whiche was this. As the Englishmen mounted by the hill, the Horsemen of Albany (commonly called Stradiotes) were coming downe wardes on the syde of the hill befoze the French host, wher suddainely sawe the banners of the English Horsemen, and the kings battayle following upwarde, thinking to them that all hadde bin Horsemen, then they cast themselves about and fledde: the Frenchmen were so fast in aray, that the Stradiotes coulde haue no entrie, and so they ranne still by the endes of the raunges of the French army: and when they behinde sawe the fall of the standerdes and theyr Stradiotes in whome they had greate confidence, returne, they whiche were farthest off, fledde fyrste, then vyppre pzaunced the Burgonions, and followed the chase, whych was pursued thre myles. Thys battell was of Horsemen to Horsemen, but not in equall number, for the Frenchmen were tenne to one, whiche had not bin seene befoze tyme, that the English Horsemen got the victory of the men of armes of France. The Frenchmen call thys battell, *The Battell of Spurres*, because they ranne away so fast on Horsebacke.

This Battell was fought the sixtenth of August, in the whych was taken the Duke of Longue, the Lord Cleremonde, and manye other noble men, to the number of twelue score, and also all the standerdes and banners, which with the prisoners were brought to the Kings presence. The Burgonions kepte their prisoners, and brought them not to sight. The same wente, that Monsieur de la Palice was by them taken, and let goe. But the other fyne thousand
Horse

Horsemen, that had bin appoynted to invade the Earle of Shrewsbury, came not downe, but only skirmished with Sir Rice ap Thomas. But the Citizens sallied, and were valiauntly beaten backe by the Lorde Herbert. After this victorie the Citie yielded, as also not long after dyd the famous Citie of Tournay.

¶ Flodden fiede fought betweene Iames the fourth King of the Scottes, and Thomas Earle of Surrey, Generall for Henry the eyghte Kyng of Englande in Anno. 1513. out of Paulus Iouius.



Wilest Henrve the eyghte kyng of England thus molested the frenche kyng in Fraunce, Iames the Scottish kyng incited by the frenche kyng, and also egged on by hys owne naturall hate towarde England, which he well hoped now in the absence of the kyng greatly to annoy, proclaimed warres against the kyng of Englande, and withall entred hys lande with a great armye, belieged Norrham Castell, toke it, and made it leuell with the grounde, and from thence marched (wastking wyth fire and sworde) to besiege the strong towne of Berwike. In the meane time the Earle of Surrey whome kyng Henry for his approued fidelitie and ppollesse had left behinde him in Englande hys Lieutenaunt, with a power to keepe the bozders towards Scotland, leuyng an army, went against the Scotte, who miserably wasted all the Countrey. There were with him the Lord Dacres, warden of the West marches, a renowned man for all martiall prayse, Edward Stanley, and Bassard Heron, which Heron brought with him a strong troupe of Horsemen, which he being of late banished both from England and Scotland, had cunningly trained in robberies, and other with aides, whiche were leuped in all partes by the Quene, for at y beuite of the newe warres, not only y countreys nere unto the Scots, as lying ope to the daunger, but also the shires farre off

The Battell of Flodden.

of their owne free willes, rather for hatred than feare, hasted to the Earle, all men taking very vnpatiently the iniurie of violating the league lately concluded betwene the two kyngs.

James had then lodged his armye on the toppe of an hill, whych the inhabitants do call *Floddon*, in a place very strong both by arte and nature, for on the left hand a great marishe and sumie gulfes, ouergroven with tusses of Willowes, did possesse all the playne vnderneath the hill. On the right hande ranne the riuer of *Tyl* at the foote of the hill with deeper Chanell, and swifter streame, than coulde be passed ouer by forde. Their backs were defended wyth steepe hylles and very thicke woddes. But at the front where nature had only left a gentle comming by, and only way vnto it, king James had cast vp a ditch, and placed all his ordinance on the inner banke thereof, and so strongly defended himselfe, that to be entrenchted round, or assaulted from the lower ground, he could not without pernicious encounter. When *Surrey* was come thither, he wondering at the iniquitie of the place, thought it not good to assault the Kings Camp, but sent an Harauld vnto the Scottishe King with a message, the summe wherof was this, That king James in breaking the solemne oth of peace, and in polluting the rightes of most holy inuolable kinned and affinitie, by inferring warres vnto Henry, when he was now absent, by burning his Townes, wasting his Countreys, and murdering his Subiectes, when they feared no such thing, had done most wickedly & cruelly, therfore he was come with an armye to reuenge the saide iniuries. King James himselfe should chosse an indifferent place, and certaine day to darreine battell, for he woulde without any staying or doubting, giue him battell as sone as euer he woulde permitte any equalitie. Then James (as he was a Prince of a stately stomacke, and tryed hardinesse,) courteously speaking vnto the Harrolde, thanked *Surrey*, and openly commended hym, that of his owne accord he desired the felde, whereas he had long feared with wofull and troubled minde, that he would by all sleighes rather haue auoided the same: and therfore according vnto that courage, he should make readie his weapons, and the thirde daye after expect the araunged battells of the Scottes in the open fields, that there he woulde seuerely sette in
iudge

iudgement vpon those iniuries which e he hadde vntimely and reprochfully mentioned, and at the daye prefired, make an ende by armes both of all olde and new controuersies. Surrey was encamped in a playne, three miles from the crumie, and there raunged his army: but James although he were ready to fight, yet kept hymselfe within his campe and munitions, bycause all the most expert of his nobilitie, much misliked to ioyne in battell: but about all other, the Earle of Huntley (than whome there was none in that army accounted eyther more valiaunt or more politike) spake in the counsell Chamber so loude, that the guard also might heare him: that there was nothing more foolish or bayne, than to fight at the appointmente of the enimie, and at his will and pleasure to aduventure the fortune of a pitched field, that the King should keepe hymselfe in that commodious place, and by lingering, glute his fierce foes, considering there was in the enimies camp greate penurie of bread, neither could victuals be easily brought out of the inwarde partes of Englande, the way being very foule, by reason of continuall raine that had fallen, that y King within short time by sitting still, and doing nothing rashly, should not misse to fight very fortunately, and giue the enimies (being tured by the iniquitie of the place, and lacke of victuals) a safe slaughter vnto his Soulovers. Besides these words of Huntley, many things accounted for forgetkens, although they were thought to be bayne, and proceeding of chaunce, hadde stryken Religion and new terror into the Kynge's heart, for as he was sitting in counsell with the Captaynes, deliberating about the manner of the battayle, an Hare lept out of his tent, and being stryken at with a thousand weapons, escaped vntouched through the middes of the station. Moreover, the Wyce had gnawen asunder the string and buckle of his headpeece: and the report went, that the bayles of his inner tent were in the morning besprinkled with a bloudy dewe. When the King for these causes came not forth into the field, Surrey who for sundry incommodities could no longer stay in those moish foule & filthy places, neither dyd think that the King would fight vnlesse he were compelled by extreame necessitie, dislodged, and leauing the enimie on the left hand, and passing ouer the riuer of Tyne, marched vnto a better place.

The Battell of Flodden.

place at the ende of Barne woodde, that he mighte there in a more fertile and safe place refreshe hys Souldyers, whome with greate iourneys and thynne dyet, all those thre dayes he had soze wearyed, and in the meane time expect new power, and according to the motions of the enemies, who had with their multitude filled the next hylles, he likewise should follow a new trade, in administring the warres. Nothing deuided the two Campes, but only the Riuer of Tyll, neyther dyd epyther partie absteyne fro tempesting with great ordinaunce, and other shot. But a hill at the hither side of the riuer, rising vp gently a mile high, serued Surrey to great vse, for it defended the front of his Campe from all iniurie of the enemies ordinaunce. From that hill Thomas Lord Howard Surreys son, a yong Gentleman of passing prowesse, surueying the hilles y lay about it, vpon whome the enimie was encamped, and the playne beneath, sheweth his father that the Scotte might easily be excluded from Scotlande, or else being gotten out of his strong lodging, be brought to fighte, if he woulde agayne transport hys army ouer Tyll, in that place where before he had come ouer, and fetchyng no greate compassse aboute, woulde shewe hymselfe on the backe of the enimie, as farre within as the streightes of the hyl woulde suffer. Surrey who hadde whollye bente hys mynde to fyghte, sente certayne incine verve skillfull in the Countrey, and also in martiall discipline, to viewe the place, who vppon theyr returne, when they reported vnto hym the verve same, and hys somes counsell was confirmed by all mens opinions, hee incontynently commaunded the army to dislodge, and thre miles from thence passed ouer the Riuer by two bridges in two companyes at one time. But Iames coniecturing Surreys intente, least by remainyng still on those hylles, and being intercluded from Scotlande muche agaynst hys dignitie, hee should lese free libertie to forage, and therewithal too, (whiche hee thoughte muche apperteyned to reterne his authoritie) least by detracting the fyghte, and being like vnto one besieged, he should seeme to repose more trust in the place, & the munitions, than in the prowesse & valor of hys Souldyers, straight way dislodged, and marched directly to take the nexte hyl, whercof hee greatly feared hys enimie woulde haue pccuented him, but it was brought

broughte to passe thozough hys owne celeritie, and the industrie of the Dyddges of the armie, who had at the Kyngs departure (as was commaunded them) fylled all the Countrey with one smoke and blacke myste, by setting on fyre the Souldyers Cabins, the strawe and al the rest of the forrage, that Kyng James was come to hys purposed place, befoze Surrey, who was but one myle from hym, eyther percepued hys departure, or coulde see the long traine of hys marchyng armie. Kyng James thus possessing the toppe of the hyl, Surrey came wyth all hys power vnto the fote thereof, and stayng there a little whyle, determined wyth hymselfe, seying the hyl was neyther verye hygh nor harde to ascende to climbe it, and to fyght befoze the ennime hadde fortifyed hys camp, and then calling togyther the Souldyers, he declared vnto them into what place and case they were come, that on the one syde the hygh banks of the ryuer, and on the other the steepe hylles, that ranne along many myles, toke quite away from them al wayes of flight, yea and all hope of lyfe, vnlesse they foughte lustyly, and vanquished valiantly, and therefore they shoulde courageously encounter their forsworne enmyes, who breaking the league, thoughte thozough the occasion of the Kyngs absence, to winne the Emprye of the whole Islande: neyther shoulde they heartes be troubled with their greate multitude, for it had bin sufficiently tryed by the often victories of their auncestors, how small strength and constancie there is in Scottes, that God hymselfe woulde be with them in the fielde, as he hathe alwayes heretofore bin lustyly agaynst the breakers of their faythe, and the contentners of hys and mans lawes and Religion, onely the Souldyers shoulde receyue still the memorie of theyr olde prowesse, for by the consente of all menne, the most iust cause of warres is to propell injuries, and defende by armes theyr Houses, Children Wyues, and that whiche seemeth to be muche more renowned, the dignitie of the Papall libertie, the whiche with noble hearte, and holpe counsell, hadde taken vpon hym to defende, and so accordingly by Goddes assistance, hadde dyuen the vngodly oppugners of the inviolable Papalitie, beying discomfited in battayle, theyr Captaynes taken prisoners, and theyr strong Citie:

The Battell of Flodden.

Little woman into the inner partes of *France*, and therefore they
 should vnder the conduct of the same God, fight against men despe-
 red with the same contagion of polluted Religion: and if they made
 account of the honor of their Countrey, the Kings estimation, and
 finally their owne glory and safetie, that they should followe hym
 their Captaine, ready epyther to vanquish gloriously, or else to dye
 honorably. The Souldyers cryed out incontinently, that he should
 giue the signall of fight, and nothing doubt to darre nye battell, yea
 though in a place of great disaduantage: for they stoutely said, that
 they would with their wounding weapons climbe the toppe of the
 hill, and neuer returne into the Campe but victors. Then *Surrey* in
 this hope and couragiousnesse of the Souldyers, deuised all his po-
 wer into three battells. The fore warde he assigned vnto the *Lorde*
Howarde, wherein he also placed *Edmunde* another of his sonnes
 to gouerne a parte thereof (*Hall* makes it a wing.) He himselfe
 ledde the middle battell, and ordeyned *Sir Edward Stanley* to bee
 Captaine of the reere ward. He placed the *Lorde Dacres* with the
 Horsemen for a battell of succoure, and disposed the great ordinaunce
 in certaine distaunces among the rankes, and in the front, and so
 with a round marche maketh towardes the enimie. In the meane
 time, when the King saw the glistering of the armoure, and the se-
 uerall battells of the enimie (as he might very well from the hill)
 thinking that occasion of victorie was that day giuen him, if he be-
 ing then superioure both by the sighte, the ground, and also the nu-
 ber of men, did out of hand fight with the enimie, he gaue the signal
 of battell, and turning vnto the nobilitie of his Realme, who stode
 nere vnto him, vsed such a like speche: *Saying* most valiant com-
 paires in armes, that we shall this day fight with better condition
 and more aduantage, than euer any of our auncestours hath
 heretofore done with this enimie, remember that now is the time
 of supreme occasion to reuenge youre iniuries, whiche ye feared
 would neuer haue come, and haue hitherto in vayne wished for,
 when ye suffered all villanies and reproches of these most proude
 enimies: but we that haue borne these things so long at home
 with sighing for vaine anger, often crying vnto God for reuenge,
 and at length in this most goodly occasion, haue taken so iust and so
 needefull

needfull armes, shoulde doubtlesse shew our selues very vile and
abjecte persons, and of all men the vaineſt: if nowe when deedes
and true prowesse are needfull, and that we muste sette foote to
foote, and by woundes and death seeke for glorious victorie: we
shoulde feare the face of our enimies, and wyth timorous hearte
measure the perills of battells, I for my parte beyng contented
wyth y^e old limits of my kingdom enjoyed wyth good peace, could
haue passed my time in reſte and quietnesse, and haue bene wyth-
out the perylls and laboures, that warres doe dayly bring: If
wythout care of dishonour I had preferred mine olone priuate fe-
licitie befoze both the dignitie of my countrey, and your safetie.
But by your generall consent in that passing great opportunitie
of renenging of your wrongs, and of all other thinges, when
you were al of one opinion, that warres were openly to be made,
bycause that those thinges which wee and our Progenitours had
suffered at the handes of oure moſte bitter and spitefull enimies
were shamefull, greivous, and intollerable: I forthwyth proclay-
med warres wyth greate courage, and that whyche dothe make
me hope of victorie, ye wyth greater endenour and desire, singu-
lar feruencie, and incredible alacritie, haue folowed the ensignes,
that one daye by doing some notable acte, and as it were the vt-
termoſte worke of valiauntie, ye might shew the egreious for-
titude of your heartes, and ende those summoſtall controuersies
by a notable victorie? For what may there anye doubt be had of
the prosperous successe of the victorie, seing the armye of the eni-
mies is in nothing to bee compared wyth ours, theirs consisteth
wholy of a kinde of freshe water souldiers, that will quickly
ruine awaye anye thinge, beyng taken vp in haste wythout regarde
of prowesse, and furnished wyth weapons and armour only for a
shew of souldiours; for all the olde men of warre, or suche as
are meet for the field indeed, either for strength of youth or good
personage are rased awaye by King Henry into France. And will
not you then from the higher ground wyth the multitude of your
weapons and the multitude of your men, and the multitude of your
men, and the multitude of your men, and the multitude of your men,
to appoynt you? They clamber vpp the hill, and by cause they

be so hardy, but for that they are needy, and must needs doe it : that they maye at once moze honestly and speedely by death escape the pinching pains of vntwonted labour & hunger: after the manner of wild beasts, who when fretting fury hath once vered theyr heartes, and famine their bellies, extream anger dyueth into raging madnesse . Drawe your swords therefore with me, and cutte the throats of these freshe water Souldiours : and be aghamed not to goe thither for feare of death, whither ye shall see mee your Captaine leade you the way for renowne and glozy . The souldiours succlamed vnto the Dyation of the king yet speaking, with the clashing of their weapons and dissonant cries , wythout any longer delay, the king first sending out of sight his own horse and then al other doing the like, to the end that all mens peril being made equal, all hope of flight quitetaken away (as it is the manner of that nation) hee might shewe both his strength of bodye, and valiaunce of minde, diuided all his power into fine battels, for this reason : that the middle battell, wherein was his chiefe standerde , shoulde be guarded on both sides with two battels : as it were with wings . In the right were the Earles of Huntley, Craforde, and Montrosse, in the lefte the Lord Hume, and the erle of Lennox, and Arguile , reported to bee experte menne of warre . He had ordeined a knight to be captaine of euery band, and with them certaine frenche captaines, whome King Lewes had sente into Scotlande a little before, to teach them the discipline of warre: and all the ordinaunce (which coulde serue to no greate vse down the hill) being bestowed in a fitte place, hee himselfe stood in the middle battell, againste Surrey.

So we had Edmund aduanced the foremoste bandes vpp the hill, when the ordinaunce on both sides being shotte off, and the firste ranks, disordered, Hume brought downe his speares on foote, who lay wyth so furious force vppon the Englishemenne coming vpp the hill, that the valiantest of the ring leaders being slaine, and Edmunde stricken downe, they had turned almost all that battell into flight. And nowe was thereno hope to abide, the bandes being both affrighted, and also defeated, vnlesse that in so greate daunger, on one side Bastarde Heron a renowned man

The Battell of Flodden.

75

for his wonderfull strength of body and noble courage, and embued with his own and his enemies blood had, lifted up Edmund: and from another parte Dacres beeyng intentine to all sodayne chaunces of the battell, had sente an hurlewinde of horsemen onerthwarte the side of the enemies. And therewithall the Lorde Howarde also comming after with the moste chosen men, the battell was without doubt restozed, and courage was rendered vnto the vanquished. So the fortune of the battell beeyng made equal, and then mo Englishemen comming fill vppre bande after bande, the afflicted beeyng intermedled wyth the freshe, beganne wyth emulation of prowesse to aduance the front of the battell vpp the hill.

Nowe when they were come vnto the strengthe of the Scottes, and bothe sides soughte almoste wyth greater hatred than strength, Montrosse and Craforde commyng into the foremost rankes to encourage the Douglasours, were there slaine valiantly fighting, and the squadron of the speares on foote was broken throughe, scattred, slaine, and vtterly defeated by the horsemen and footmen. But in the les wyng almoste at the same tyme, Stanley beinge soynded in battayle, hadde won the hill of the Scottes, and with the multitude of his arrowes, lighting thicke vppon them, had brought them into that case, that nowe they soughte not close together, but their rankes beeyng loosed and thynne, and as menne that soughte to auoyde the shotte, their ensignes beganne to swepe and shrinke hyther and thither. Whiche when Stanley perceyued, he fetchyng aboute thre bandes of succour vppon the open side of the enemies, broughte so greate terrour, that they were not able to susteine their violent charge, and stande to it, but incontinentely fledde, and running headlonge downe the hill, hidde them selues in the Woodes. There Arguile and Lennox retepning wyth voyce and bandes, the enclined battell, were slaine.

In the meane tyme Kyng James, who hadde a little before soynded in battell wyth Surrey, as sodne as he sawe that the arraye of his menne was disordered in the wings, and his enemies were spreadde abzoade rounde aboute his skyrtes, adhortyng

L.g.

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the ban de that was appointed for his garde, and the olde souldiours, and the noble men that were aboute him, that they would doe nothing but worthe of them selues, nor their auncestours: broughte his battell into the middes of hys enimyes. So that a newe battell arose againe afreshe, and sharper than the firste: because all this Scottishe battell being well armed, had very wel susteined the arrowes of the Englishemen, and certain Captains of the foremost rankes being slaine had perced almost to the Englishes ensignes. There were on both partes very tall men, chosen by both Captaines for the supreme and lasse chaunces of the battell: and the fight (as it must needes bee in such a case) was diuers and doubtfull, one while to the one, and another while to the other prosperous and deadly. The King hymselfe fighting on foote before the ensignes, mayntayned the fight with greate pertinacie, inflaming some with praise, and other with shame, finally crying out to them all with diuers encouragements, that since now they had gotten their enimies, they should be reuenged on them with sword and woundes, the which thing they had so greatly desired, and so greedely thirsted after. On the other syde, Surrey when the best of hys souldiours were eyther slaine or wounded, contended with greate valor, still wythdrawing the wounded into the hindermoste rankes, very earnestly encouraged his men to bring the battell to the dint of sword, and where the enimies moste byged, there also fought he moste stoutly. But whilest this hotte conflicte lasted at the ensignes with vncertaine event, the lord Howard and Stanley, who hauing defeated the enimies at both wings, came victors vnto the middle battell, turned their powers vppon the enimies, charging him in two quarters: and therewithall in very good tyme Dacres ranne vppon the backs of them, with a very thicke troupe of horsemen, so that when the Scottes were slaine on the front, the sides and the back, and being wearied with labour and woundes, coulde not breake through for the heaps of slaine carhasses, weapons, and armours, they being on eche side enclosed, were forced to fight in a ring.

But when the King saw his chiefe standerd throwen downe, and Adam Forman that bare it layne before his face: then doubting

ting nothing, but that he muste immediatly dye, that he might deliuer his harte from imminent reproches, ranne forth vnto the thickest of his enemies, and there was slaine fighting very valiantly. For farre from him certeyne greates men of the Church contending with equall pertinacie, and prowesse, were likewise slaine: One Archebischoppe, two Byshoppes, and foure Abbots: and of noble men, and men of marke for dignitie of knight-hood, and honours of warfare, thirtie fire. Hume and Huntley getting horses in this tumult through the benefit of the night approaching, escaped into Scotland with the hindermoste bandes and battells, whiche consisting of a very cowardly kynde of soldiers, had not stroke one stroke. There were slaine that daye about eight thousand Scottes, and almost so many taken: but all the enligthes were gotten, and two and twentye peeres, of ordinance, among whom were seven culuerings of greafe bogenesse, whom the king for their likenesse one vnto another, hadde named the seauen sisters, The Scottische Campe was with the same lease wonne and spoyled: the kyngs body was founde the nexte daye by Dacres, and brought to Berwicke, and there a long time lay vnburied for the Englishmen thought hym unworthy of the holy honoz of buriall and graue among Christians, after death for that he had in lyfe time fauoured and mayntayned the Frenchmen and Schismatickes.

¶ The Battell of *Umo* fought in *Venegia*,
betvvne Raimonde of Cardona Generall of
the armie of the league made by *Maximilian* the Emperour, *Ferdinande* the King of *Spain*: and *Bartholme* de la *Aluiano*
or *Liniano*, Generall for the *Venetians* in Anno. 1513. Oute
of *Iouius*.



Anno Domini. 1513. Raimond de Cardonna captaine of
the army of the league againste the French King
inuaed *Venegia* with fifteene bandes of Spanishe
footemen, vnder the conducte of *Ferdinande Mar-
quesse* of *Pescara*, euery bande conteyning three
hundredeth souldiours, and seuen bands of *Lan-
quenets* ledde by *James Landawe*, euery bande consistyng of
fue hundredeth souldiours: (both the *Spaniardes*, and the *Almaines*
were olde souldiours, and hadde soughte verpe ballauntlye of
late at *Rauenna*) wyth seauen hundredeth men of armes of *Byng*
Ferdinandes olde companies, and also one hundredeth and fiftie *Al-
maine* men of armes vnder the conducte of *Rician* and *Celenberg*,
the Emperours Captaines: and also a companye of light horse-
men, whose Capitayne was *Succaro Heduo*: and besydes two
companies of men of armes of the *Hopes* powe ledde by *Troilo*
Sabelli, and *Mutio Colonna*, and a company of light horse vnder the
gouernement of *Vrsino Mognani*: finallye wyth fye hundredeth *spa-
nishe* horsemen seruing vnder *Peter de Castro*, among whome many
were archers.

With this power and. xij. falcons he inuaed *Venecia*, bicause
the *Venetians* hadde that same Sommer toynd wyth the French
power in *Milan* againste the Duke, when that *Trivulzi*, was dis-
comfited by the *Switzers*.

But when he sawe that he coulde not gette out the *Venetian* po-
wer to fight with him, neither coulde he winne eyther *Padoa*, or
Treviso, where they kepte themselues: hee passed ouer the riuer
of *Brenta*: where after they had wyth fyre and sword, wasted all
that countrey beeyng of singular fertilitie, hee encamped at a
billage

village on the Sea coaste called *Maestre*: from whence as the nearest place of the mayne lande vnto Venice, hee holding the stately seate of the enimie, commaunded the ordinaunce to be layde vppon the nearest parte of the shoare, and to bee shotte off in reproche and spite of the proude Citty, as though hee hadde layde his batterie against the Citty, as in deede some pellets lighted in it.

The whiche spitefull parte bredde such indignation in the heartes of the angred Seignorye, who not without teares behelde theyr princely Mannour houses burning in all partes of the Countrey, that they wrote vnto *Liniano* their Generall who was at *Padoa* with a power to repress the insulting insolence of their enimyes with armes, and whensoever he shuld get opportunity of tyme and place, to giue them battell.

Liniano gathered together almost seuen hundred men of armes, and few lesse than two thousand light horsemen, seuen thousand footemen, and grate store of felde peeces, with hye also toynd *Sacramoro Visconti*, being excluded out of Milan, with aboute seauen hundred horsemen, very well appointed. Moreouer this barbarous burning hadde excited a great number of *Contadines* or peasants, vnto whome *Liniano* had before sent *Paulo Manfrony* an experte Captaine, to rule and guide with reason and counsell the rude multitude, commaunding hym to permit no occasion of invading the enimies on the backe, whensoever hee shold see them either troubled with the woddes, or riuers, or busied with battell. The newes of the approach of *Liniano* made the army of the league to cease their walking, and to seeke to passe ouer the riuier of *Brenna*: the which they politickly did in the night tyme, deceiuing *Liniano*: who being distien from his best counsel, marched to a place called *Vlmo* thye miles from *Vicenza*, to take the streights of the next hilles, which way the Leagers muste needs passe to go vnto *Verona*: which the Emperour then possessed.

But *Liniano* stopped the passage of the streights, with casting vp of ditches, frenches and rampires, wherein he had placed his great ordinaunce, so that it was not possible for the enimie to passe that waye without assured destruction, and agayne to take an
other

The Battell of Flodden.

other way aboute by the mightye Mountaynes, and the thicke Woods of *Bafiano* seemed to be worse than an aduerse battell: the *Welantes* cruelly pursuing them that had losse their baggage, as men utterly vanquished and turned out of their auntient honour. Nowe was the armie of the League come wythin sight of the enemye, and were encamped so neare vnto the *Venetians*, that they heard the neighing of their horses, and the noise of their camp, and were wonderfully annoyed by *Liuiano* from the higher ground with the greate ordinaunce, so that the horsemen were forced to seeke low places, and great trees to defend them selues, and the footemen to lye flatte vppon the ground. But when night was come, proclamation was made, y^e al the fires throughout the camp shuld be put out, that the enemies might haue no marke to direct their shot more certainlye: and also thorough the perswasion of *Prospero de Colonna* (who ruled all the armie, although *Raimonde* was Generall) al the Wagons and boote that they had gotten, was burnt, that they might more speedily marche the next daye befoze it was light towards *Bafiano*: hoping assuredly of victory, if they could gette the enemye out of the strong place of aduantage for to soloyn them. It was somewhat late ere *Liuiano* vnderstoode of the departure of the enemies, by reason of a thicke miste that arose (as it commonly doeth in such moorish countreys) but alldone as he perceyued that they were gone, he sent *Bernardine Antiniola* his sisters sonne, a valiant young Gentleman, with the light horsemen, and three falkons to endamage the taile of them, and to view whether they wente: for his minde was not to ioyne with them in battell wythout greate aduantage, knowyng his footemen not able to match the old *Spaniardes* & *Lancequenets*: but determined only to vex, annoy, and stay them wyth often skirmishes, as they marched thorough troublesome and yll wayes: that he might deliuer them (being wearied with trauel, watching and famine) into the hands of the *Welantes* swarming aboute them, so to be destroyed. But *Antiniola* very hotly byrging on the taile of the enemies, attached a very sharpe encounter wyth the *Almaine* horsemen: in the whiche he being repulsed, had forsaken his ordinaunce: but after that other troupes of horsemen succored

red hym, the flight was againe so furiously renewed, that not onely the three pieces of ordnance were recovered, but also the Almains put to flight, in such sort, that Prospero commaunded al the horsemen to open their troupes and to make way through the middes of them for the fleeing Almains: and least they should else haue disordered the whole battell, hee also commaunded Pescara to turne heade wyth his Spanishe footemen towards the Venetians. There was with Luiano, Andrew Lauridame the Venetian Legate or Prouiditori, a vehement man, neyther lesse greedy of reuenge, than of glory, but one altogether vnskillfull of the wars. He hearing good newes from all partes of the auanturiers, hasted vnto the Generall (as he was vehemently stirred up with the sharpe afflictions of hope and griefe), and sayde vnto him: Why linger you Generall? the enimies escape: an assured and notable victoie will slippe out of our handes: it will rather be accounted false-hood, than cowardise, if that you linger any longer: neyther can this opinion bee taken away, vnlesse you do incontinentlye commaunde the signall to be giuen, and pursue with all your power the fleeing and disordered enimie. Then Luiano turning towards Hugo de Pepoli, and Guido de Rangoni, saide: let vs aduventure though rashly yet nobly the footemen of battell, seeing that our greate power of superiortie, doth overcome reason: least if I be to daye wary and considerate, I shall anone after being accused before the seignory of cowardise or treason, and oppressed with wrongfull hatred, be putte to death by the aduerse and malicious voices of the vnskillfull, as was vnlucky Carmagnola. That he uttered these speeches, wee lerned of those that were present at them. Then causing the signall to be sounded, he pursued the enimies with three battells: the leading of the right and lefte wings whiche were both of light horsemen, had Antonio Pio, and Bagleone; but the middle battell, wherein were the men of armes, and Saeromoro Visconti, Guido de Rangoni, and Hermes Bentiuogli, he himselfe conducted. The battells of the footemen marching also wyth equal pace on the one and the other side of his battells, the horsemen on both sides encounter very fiercely: and none Luiano fleeing neither and thether, and trying out that this day would be the

ende of theyr laboures, and the beginning of theyr rewardes; hadde enkindled his Souldiours with so greate desire to vanquish, that many of them pierced thorough the thickest of their enimies; euen vnto theyr Ensignes, and stryuing to bying them away, and bying strongly resisted, toze them into peeces, and slew Ebrardde Cornia the ensigne bearer of Mutias company, a valiant olde Gentleman, and his couragious sonne.

But whylest the horsemen thus encounter together in the fronte wyth equall hope and feare on bothe sydes: Prospero rode vnto every ranche, encouragynge them, and commaunded Pescara to aduance forwarde on the one syde wyth his Spaniardes, and Landrau on the other wyth his Launsquenets, and to charge the footemenne of the enimie, the whyche they did wyth suche furie, that the bandes of Babo Brescebelli, whome Liniano had for the opinion of their notable prowesse placed in the foremoste rankes, scarce once attemptynge the encounter, turned their backs almost before they had seene their enimies; although their Captaines, men of singular valor endeuoured by encouraging, threatning & beating to make them abide, & fought themselves very valiantly in the forefront, where they were slayn also: among whom were John Bernardino, Alezzo Seraphino, Alfonso Muto, Phillippe Carsoleio, Aniball de Simoni, and Baptista Docto, who had placed aboute him a crewe of very valiaunt Souldiours, chosen out of diuers bands, which were all slaine by Pescara, who there valiauntly foughte on foote before his Spaniardes with a pike in his hande.

Then the middle battell of the Venetian horsemen being bared on one side of their footemen, began first to be driuen backe, and being urged more sharpely, anone after with slaughter to bee put to flight: neyther coulde the disordered battell be repaired or made to stave, when the foremost rankes were slaine, although that all the valiauntest horsemen endeuoured to their uttermoste to susteine the impression of their enimies. So that when al suche as resisted were slaine, the ensignes were throwen down, and namely by the ensigne of Liniano, the which Anthony Montoni had long tyme valiauntly kepte, but at the last lost it, together with his life, and
at the

at the same bzht, Sacramoro and Hermes being in hozse were slain by the Launcequenets. But Pescara Gentلمانlike saved Otho Visconti, bzother vnto Sacramoro, althoughe there had bene before a pziuate quarrell betweene them.

Nowe when the hozslemen of the right wing sawe the middle battell, wherein they reposed all their hope of victozye, and that whych they thought should beare the bzunte of the battell, flaine and put to flight, they shamefullye hurling awaye their armour and weapons, ranke awaye amaine, and Antoniu their Capitayne appressed wyth the wayghte of hys armour was drownded in the Riuer of Bacchilio. The right wing also wyth like cowardise didde the like: for when Paule Baglione hadde not bzought aboute speedily enough the right wing by reason of the moozische and stony grounde wherevppon he had lighted by going about to enclose the enemie: & Liuiano also had moze hastily attached the battell than he had thought he would: it came to passe, that his souldiours seeing the slaughter and flight of other of their fellowes, and also distrusting their owne strength, fledde away whole and vntouched. Yet in the front, although that feare and flight had taken the hartes of all the souldiours, many valiaunt Captains, whilest for the dignittie of their martiall seruice passed, they endeuoured to reteine the souldiours, to keepe the array and grounde, were at length fighting couragiously flaine, beeyng forsaken by their souldiours, and enclosed by the multitude of theyr enemies. But Paule Baglione hauing losse his twoo base bzothers, Troiano and Hierome, and all his hozslemen scattered, in vtter dyspaye fledde awaye, and lightyng on a marrische, was taken by the Spanishe hozslemen.

In the meane tyme, Liuiano, althoughe hee were forsaken of fortune, and lefte alone by his Souldiours, still ratyng them for fleeing, yet went busily about to renew the syght: but at lengthe beeyng broken in hearte, and spent in strength, hee fledde, and came to Padoa. The reste of the Capitaynes were almoste all taken in the chase, or slayne by the Almaines, who spared no man: and many also were drownded in the riuer of Bachillio, for when they came wearye vnto the Ryuer, epther

they were drowned in the streame, or wer overtaken and oppressed by the enemy as they stood deliberating whether it were best to passe it or no. And thus they perished by diuers chaunces. The Lansquenets also, & the Spanishe footmen, breaking theyr arraye, pursued the flight, slaying those that the horsmen running before, had ouerthrowen, or whom the throng of them that fled, and the heapes of armours and weapons. wyth whom they euey where met, had hindered or stopped. *Andrewe Lauredamo Proudiron*, a man vnworthy of that calamitie, (if he had not bene the vnlooky author of that vnfortunate battell) was taken: and albeit after he was withdrawen, he promised a mighty masse of golde for his raunsome: yet was hee moste cruelly slayne by a raskall drudge. But *Andrewe Gritti* gotte hym to *Vicenza*, and was there verie hardly saued, for assoone as the *Venetians* beganne to flye, the portcullis of the gate was let down, which was the cause of many a mans death, for they missing their hope of entring *Vicenza*, in going backe againe met with the enimies, by whome were slayne Captaines of companies of horsemenne, *Charles Montoni*, *Francis Saxatello*, *Constantius Pio* sonne to *Anthony*, and *Meleagre of Forli*, but there were slaine of Captaines footemen, and petty captains, aboue fife and twenty. Many were saued by the *Italians* and *Spaniards*, but those whome fortune caste on the *Almaines* (hauyng before swoyne to spare no man,) were all slaine. There dyed of the *Venetian* army that day being the vij. day of October, about vij. M. whereof. iij. C. were men of armes: a thing that had neuer happened before in any battell. There were also taken. xxiij. peeces of ordinaunce wyth all the ensignes, yea and this almoste attended without wounde of theyr enimies, for there were lost but only two men of marke, & they were of *Mutius de Colonia* his company: *Eberard de Cornia* his ensigne bearer, and *Camillo Maximo*, a knight of *Rome*, a yong Gentleman of rare towardnesse. There was neuer armye in our age that had soughte epyther wyth more shamefull ende, or was vanquished with lesse damage of the enemye: in so much that the *Marquesse of Pescara* euen in the mids of his foy for the victory, detestling the dastardynesse of the *Venetian* *Souldiours*, openly protested, that he was very hartly for, that it was

was his lucke to haue bene inserted by his ^{Pescara his} ancestors into the ^{ancestors} land of Italy, that brought forth so feeble & faint harted soulidoz. ^{came out of} But after this greate ouerthrowe giuen, the army of the League, ^{Spaines} by reason of the approach of winter, wer forced to forsake the field, and to returne vnto their wintering places.

¶ A Battell fought in anno. 1514, at the ri-
uer of Boristhenes betwene Basilus the great
Duke of Mosconie, and Constantine Generall of Sigismunde King
of Polande. Out of Iouius.



¶ When Basill the greate Duke of Mosconie
had by treason taken the strong towne
of Smolencho, he sent thre companies of
horsemē to waste Littaw. Against whome
Sigismunde King of Polon sent his appoy-
ned Captaine Constantine, with an army
of two thousand Polonian men of armes,
twelue thousand Lithuanians almoste all
archers on horsebacke, and threethou-
sande footemen, part harquebusierz and parte pikemen, in whose
pussiance if they once loyred in battel, he reposed assured hope of
victorye. Basill, who had aboue fourte thousand hoisemen, doub-
ting nothing of the euent of the imminent battell, suffered the Po-
lonian power quietly to passe ouer the riuer of Boristhenes or Neper;
that he might haue the moze full and noble victorye: and when
hee vnderstoode by his espies, that all the Polonians were passed o-
uer, turning himselfe towarde his Capitaine, he spake as follo-
weth. Our enimies haue passed the Riuer, so late to retourne as
gainne, if ye will playe the men. Wherefore (moste valiaunt sel-
lowe Souldiours) as soon as euer ye shall receiue the signall,
bzeake forth as thicke together as ye can cluster, and after ye haue
once powred downe a shote of shaftes vpon your enimies bat-
tels, then euery two of you encounter one enimie, and persnade,
your selues that by this dayes victorye ye shall sacke the riche Ci-

ties of wile and cunning, the chiefe Cities of Lituania and Polia. When hee had thus sayde, hee chace out of all the whole hoste aboute seauen thousande horsemen; whome hee commaunded to enclose the enemye behinde at the backe: and when they perceyued the battell wared hotte at the front, then they shoulde wyth all their power sette vppon the enemyes at the backe, fearing no suche thing: for on the lefte hande was there a little valley, hedged in as if were wyth little hilles, running along, and covertly clothed wyth very thicke bushes and byers, fitly seruing to hyde such an ambushe. But of the reste of hys power hee made thre battells.

The forewarde, wherein were twelue thousande horsemenne, hee placed on the right wing, and made Michaell Goliya a valiant man, Capitaine thereof: the seconde hee appoynted for the lefte wing neare vnto the hilles, to the ende it shoulde bee as it were a battell of succour: but at the wagons, cariages and baggage of the armye, hee hymselfe stode wyth the middle battell, wherein were placed the strength of the armye.

On the contrary side Constantine not being ignorant that the brained enemye wold in no respect be equall vnto hym, if he could at the firste bunt susteine the multitude of their arrowes, and bring the matter to hande strokes, and that the battell might not altogether be foughten by thicke troupes of horsemen, he placed all the men of armes in the front, to receyue the firste force of the serdars, but strengthened both wings, with Lithuanians, and their baykes with the footemen.

And riding from ranke to ranke, he saide vnto them: we must this daye fight not for glory, nor by armes to recouer Smolenscho lately losse by fraude; but to impeache that the perfidious and moste shamesfull Moscouites, maye not raigine ouer the Polonians, and Lithuanians. Neither (fellowe Souldiours) will I enkindle you vnto promise and bydasse, more by any abhorration, than by putting you in mind that the riuer Boristhenes is at your backe, which if yee (beyng discomfited by the armed enemye,) cowardly thinke ye maye agayne passe ouer, by giuing place, or shamefullye fleeing, ye shall make it famous, for a perpetuall ignominye of your

your Country, and your notable destruction and slaughter. But that ye do not suffer so great dishonour and soule pain to be committed under my conduct, I doe beseeche and obtest that (O God moste bounteous, and almightie, and yee holy Ladislaw and Cassimir, the defendets and patrons of the Polish Empire, and I do bowe an altare and Church unto both of you) if it maye stande wyth your pleasures, that the Polish vanquish, and I discomfiting and putting to flight the enemye, may bring home a speedy and entire victorye. While Constantine was yet speaking, the Moscovites founded the battell, and therewithall Michael commanded his horsemen to run forth from the right wing, and to shote theyr arrowes. Neyther did Constantine (as hee instructed the Captains when hee arranged the battels) keepe in the men of armes, but they were commaunded incontinently to charge their staves, and running upon the enemyes, speedily to bring the conflict unto the issue. And such in dede was their stoutnesse, that being come beyond the fall of their entiaied arrowes, they escaped the greatest part of that shoure, and without loss in with the heeles of their horses and their weapons, tooke from the archers on horse backe the use of their bowes, and their second arrowes, in whom they had reposed greate confidence.

On the other side the Lithuanians stretching out their wings as long as they coulde possible, charged the sides of the enemy: shoting innumerable arrowes upon their thick battels: wherewith all the Moscovites being oppressed, when they could neither break through in the front, being dyed by the men of armes, nor yet give backe, their fellows behinde thrusting them forward, they brake their arraye and flew out swelling upon both the wings of the Lithuanians, and there at one time attached two encounters in quiers places: yea and the same tyme also the horsemen, who as wee tolde you were sette by assault at the backe of the Polonians through the hidden valley, with a hydeous cry, and great sounde of trumpets, that they might seeme the greater number, squared the Polonians on y^e back, which being once perceived, certayne captaines valiant men, amongst whom was the Palatine Polosky, notwithstanding Constantine had straightly commaunded them not to

stre out of their places, nor to fight without his comāndement:
 Yet thinking that in sodaine and dangerous chaunces of fight
 all things are not to be done according to freight prescript, but
 the present occasion of things must be encountered, since they
 coulde not then runne to aske the Generalls counsell, bycause he
 fought busily in another quarter: nor in any case in that shortnes
 of time, certifie hym therof, turned the esquadron of the foot-
 men on the enemies. The esquadron, keeping by their array im-
 moueable and strong, although they hadde receyued some detri-
 ment by the arrows, yet notwithstanding discharging all their
 harquebussiers together at once, by that tempest of pellets slaying
 the soundst ranks of the enemy, came to their pikes and halberds,
 and by their impulse and baloz repulsed the enemy. When the
 horsemen being empeached with their multitude, could not gett
 out to spreade abroad themselves, and traaverse their groundes;
 they insueued the fight in that freight and throng with greates
 slaughter. Where when the fight waxed hot, yee might haue sene
 man and horse thrust thorough with a stroke, other ouerthrowen,
 and great heapes of slaine men lying euery where, and all places
 filled with the blood, and growings of dying men. But in another
 quarter Constantine hauing disordered the ranks of the enemy, and
 almost quite destroyed Michaels horsemen, was now come vnto
 the middle battell, and attaching a sharpe encounter, had disor-
 dered the foremost ranks with his violente charge and slaughter.
 When Basil distrusting of the middle battell, and his own strenght,
 gaue backe, but yet turned not his face, as one that expected the
 supreme event, thinking verily that the horsemen which he had
 sent before to invade the Polonians on the backe, woulde strike a
 sodaine and therefore the greater feare into the heartes of the Po-
 lonians, neyther foreseeing nor distrusting any suche vnlooked for
 invasion. But the footemen that defeated them, turning their
 ranks, and coming with speedy pace vpon the battell of suc-
 cour, brake all therest of his hope and hearte, so that Basil de-
 parting out of the battell with a troupe of noble horsemen, fled a-
 maine vpon the spurre: whom that battell incontinently follo-
 wed, whiche (we shewed you) was placed at the hill for a succour,
 being

The Battell of Boristhenes. 89

being not once able to abide, no not the looke of the bloudye and victorizous footemen. Then folowed a foule flight all the field o-
ner: but yet the middle battell with greate constancy receiued the
enimie, that egrely byged. For Basil had placed al the armed and
valiantest Souldiours of the whole host about the ensignes, and in
the front of that battell. So that they fought long with variable
fortune, and mosse egre and fierce contention on eyther side, and
diuers Polonian horsmen of marke, and two yong noble men were
there slaine, as they ouer hotly ranne their horses into the thicke
battell of the enimie. At the length the Lithuanians and footemen,
after they had defeated them with whome they had encountred,
came also bypon them from diuers partes with furious force: the
Moscouites befoze they should be constrained to fight also behinde:
thought best to provide for themselves by speedy flight. The Po-
lonians victors winning the enimies campe, got a greate and riche
prey by the kings furniture, and five thousand horses. They slew
aboue seuen thousand men. Michaell also and certayne other fa-
mous captaines were taken, whome with the ensignes that were
taken, King Sigismunde afterward in triumphant maner brought
hounde into Vilne. After this fortunate fight Constantine besieged
Smolencho, but not with the lyke fortune: for Basil had in his flight
sent thether certayne companies of horsmen, and strengthened the
Towne wyth a newe garrison: thinking that if they coulde su-
staine the firste assautes of the enimy, that then the Polonians be-
ing excludet by the time of the yeare, wold neuer once munde to
besiege it: for thys battell was fought the eyght day of Septem-
ber. When Constantine percepued that the winning of it
was harder than he had hoped, neither would the na-
ture of the very cold countrey, suffer the Sould-
iours to lye abroade in the field, he de-
spairing to atchiene thys enter-
prise, reduced his army home
agayne ouer the riuer
of Boristhenes.

¶ The Battell of Chois, in *Armenia* the
 greate, fought the fiftē of August in anno. 1514.
 betweene *Selym* the greate Turke, and *Ismaell* the Sophy of
Persia.



When *Selym* the greate Turke in reuenge
 of the wrong done hym by *Ismaell* the
 Sophy, in marping hys daughter vnto
Amurathes his enemy, and the banished
 sonne of his bzother *Achomates*, and also
 in aiding hym wpyth a power to inuade
Cappadocia, had entred *Armenia*, the So-
 phy, although hee nothing at all suspe-
 cting any inuasio of the Turke that yere,
 had sent the greatestt parte of his power againstt the *Coraxenes* yet
 to saue the beautilfull and pleasaunt towne of *Chois* from sackyng,
 encamped within sight of the Turke, and reposing great trust both
 in the hardynesse of his souldiozs, and also in his owne god for-
 tune, thought it beske to the end he might strike the greater ter-
 roz into his enemies harts, not to defer the tyme, but roundly to
 foynē in battell with them: and incontinently sente an *Herelde*
 vnto *Selym*, and with hym certayne men of warre, who should di-
 ligently vtewe what kinde and howe greate the army of the enē-
 mies was, howe manye pēces of ordynance hee had, and what the
 forme of theyr Campe was. But they should do this message vnto
 to *Selym*: that *Armenia* was assuredly the *Persians*, neither had there
 euer ben any contention betwene the Turkes and them for it, and
 therfore he maruelled why he was come into hys pprovince with an
 eniniuous army. But if perhaps he emulating the antiēt prowesse
 of *Alexander* the *Macedon*, thought that so much land of right was
 hys, as victozy and fortune by encroching armes should get him,
 that then he should make hymselfe ready, and enen the nexte daye
 trye what his owne and other mens power was able to do: *Selym*
 answered therevnto, that apparant iniuries were in freshe me-
 morry. Wherfore the Othomannes might lustly take armes againstt

the

the Persians, both his grandfather Mahomet, and Cassen his vnckle in tyme past, and now of late his father Baiazet, and hymself also so whilest he was oppugned with the armes of his brother Achomates, had receyued of the Persians both very greate detrimentes, and notable reproches. But although these were greate and very waighty matters, yet did he not thinke them to be causes worthy of warres: but his only request was, to haue Amarathe his brothers sonne yet his enemy, and the wasfer of Cappadocia, deliuered into his hands, whom if he would according to equity friendly yeelde vp vnto him, that then as the mutuall rightes betwixne Kings for the defending and strengthening of theyr Empires required, he would withdraw his army and retourne into his own dominions: But if the Sophy neglected thus to doe, that then he would wast Armenia and Persia with fire & sword. The Herald being dismissed, both princes kept themselves within their camps. But the next day Selym by the encouragement of all his Souldiours, brought forth his power into the open felde, and marched in array of battell towards the enemy, who lodged two miles off, thinking that Ismaell, a chieftaine of so great name, would make no stay, but according to his worde incontinently ioyne in battell wyth hym.

But as for the number of Persians, what kinde of horsemen they were, what armour and weapons they bare, hee coulde not lightly learne: for besides the natures and wittes of that nation, fraught with subtille pollicies and wisdom, so greate was the loue of the souldiours, and so greate their reuerence towards Ismaell their king, that there was not one man found that fledde vnto the Turkishe Camp, whereas on the other side (as it was afterwarde learned by the Persian prisoners) diuers dayly fled from Selym vnto Ismaell. Selym who is reported to haue had that day in the felde foure score thousand horsemen, placed in the right wing Cassembassa the Capitaine of the European horsemen, and in the left Sinambassa an Eunuch, with the horsemen of Asia, the Acanzi going befoze or auauntecurryng: whiche Acanzi are horsemen of diuers nations, that voluntarily folowe the warres, being thereto excited in hope of botte and spoile.

The middle battell was assigned vnto the *Asappes*, a multitude of red and half vnarmed footmen, who for that they are accustomed no losse at all, are alwayes objected vnto the first encounter and bynt, thereby to blunt their enimies blades. Behinde the *Asappes* was the greates ordinance, disposed in directe fronte, guarded wth foure thousand horsemen. Hee hymselfe wth the chosen horsemen of the garde, and all the *Janizars* stode for an aide and succour in a place somewhat higher than the rest, and being entrenched wth a double circle or trench of ordinance and carriages rounde aboute hym, had placed the sumpter Camelles according to their custome so linking them one to an other with long chaines going crosse their breasts, that they seemed to bee a strong munition: wherwith he being enclosed, might aide those that hee saue in distresse, and (if any harder chaunce should happen) from thence as from a Castle wth the floure of the whole army susteine all the force of the enemy. Moreover hee willed the *Asappes*, that as soone as the enimies horsemen began to approach, that then they shoulde immediatly sencer themselues a side into two partes, thereby to leaue an open gappe to shoote off the great artillery full on the enemy. On the other side *Ismaell*, who had certainly learned by fugitiues all the counsels of the enemy, calling vnto him his Captaines, tolde them that it woulde bee nothing to winne the victory, if they could but escape the tempest of the ordinance: whiche thyng hee affirmed myght easily be broughte to passe, if the horsemen as soone as they once saue the battell of the *Asappes* denided, wold also be intentiue and redy incontinently to breake their array, and likewise to seuer the selues into two wings. Wherefore hee caused two chiefe standardes to be borne, the one was the Imperiall standarde, the whiche he disposed in a certaine place where hee stode hymselfe, wth the force and floure of the horsemen: the other he assigned vnto his approued Captain *vsuagle* with the rest of the armie. *Ismaell* had about hym thirty thousand horsemen without any aide of footmen, and of them were there aboue ten thousand men of armes, very ballaunt Souloiors, well practised in the warres, and famous for their nobilitie. They had very excellent horses barded

with

with strong Steele, and they helmes were all crested, bothe for a
braverie and also to terrifie the cannye: moreover they bare
Semiters, and after our maner, mallets of yron, & also very strong
Launces. The rest of the horsemen being armed with open and
somewhat long head peeces and curasses, vsed either great bowes,
or else launces of Ashe after the *Sparishe* manner: and as for guns
they had none, in whiche one only thing they were ouermatched
by the Turkes. But so greate courage and ballauncy was in the
heartes of the Persians, that they despying the multitude of
theyr enimies, and contemning the perill of the ordinance, doub-
ted nothing to giue them battell. The signall being giuen, *Jsmac*
sette forwarde with all his army, adhorting all his souldiours,
that they would reteine in memorie their olde martiall praise, and
that they would folowe him their chieftaine, (whom they hadde
thoroughe many mosse prosperous battells, made the most migh-
tye kyng of all the Orient) now marching againste the enimie:
that they were to encounter wyth a sorte of vnarmed Turkes, be-
ing only a light staffe and a Target, whose horses are of stature
lowe, weake, and carreine leane, and almoste starued wyth hun-
ger, that they wold neuer abide, no not the first shock of the men
of armes. On the other side *selym* seing the duste of the enimies
army comming, commaunded it to be proclaymed vnto all the ar-
mye by the Colonelles and capitains, that the battell was at hand:
wherein if they fought valiantly, and vanquished the Persians
the conquerours of nattons, they shoulde enlarge the *Othomani-*
call Empire from the Persian Ocean vnto the mount *Caucasus*. But
if they remitted any thing of their wonted prowesse, that then
being in that huge wildernesse of the strange Countrey, and
vnummeasurable deserts, there were no hope of escape to be loo-
ked for, for either they should shaine fully dye, or else wyth euer-
lasting reproche be slaues vnto the Persian women: since that be-
hynde them so farre from their Countrey, both the mightie riuer
Euphrates and the monstrous mountaines of *Taurus*, and also be-
side that, the vnfaithfull *Aladule* possessing the streights, hadde
taken away from the vanquished all hope of returne into *Cappa-*
docia. Nowe when *Jsmac* approached, and the *Asappes* at the

The Battell of Chois.

signall giuen opened their rankes, and in the space betweene them
 the fashions were shotte off, hee incontinently deducting his hoꝛs-
 men gaue a charge vpon the right wing of the Turkes, with suche
 feruencye, that there was a very sharpe encounter betwene the
 halfe armed Turks, and the complete armed Persians: so that Cas-
 sembass and the formost rankes being slayne, and so shortly the o-
 ther one after another discomfited & defeated, they propelled all
 that wing euen vnto the aides and succours where selym himselte
 stood. In another quarter vstaogle receiuing no small detriment
 by the ordinance, bicause he had not so speedily gotte himselte and
 his company out from that daunger, charged the Asians, of whom
 hee leide a greate number, but not wyth the same felicitie, that
 Ismaell had, for whilest he fought very egerly among the formost,
 hee was slaine with an harquebuste shot, through which chaunce
 the Turkes recouered againe their daunted spirittes: so that they,
 who euen now were driuen from their grounde had losse aboue the
 thirde parte of their fellows, nowe verve lustily renewing the
 fight, susteined the men of armes, and setting agaynst them the
 Harquebuserz, by whom the hoꝛses of the Persians were moste af-
 frighted, droue them hedlong in one troupe vpon the Asappes. The
 Persians eyther compelled by necessitye, for that hauing receyued
 greate detriment, they had also losse their Capitayne, and coude
 not rule their hoꝛses affrighted with the noyse and thundering of
 the ordinance, or else seeing the side of the Asappes lie open, wher-
 by they thoughte a better hande myght there be had, with thicke
 troupes gaue a charge ouerthwarte the footemen, whom they o-
 uerthrowing with greate slaughter came vnto the ordinance: and
 there enclosing the maisters and gunners, slew them all, who va-
 aduisedly shooting off their greate pæces in that greate hurle of
 things, had souly slaine a greate number indifferently aswell of
 their owne fellows, as of their ennimies, and wyth continued
 course came thorough, as it were victoꝛs vnto the ryghte wyng,
 where Ismaell fought wyth the European hoꝛsemen: who hauyng
 lost their captain, and being repulsed and wearied with wounds,
 had before tyme withdrawen themselues vnto the aides and bat-
 telles of succour. But now when they were urged on the side with
 another

another company of the enimies, feeling themselves unable to sustain their impression: began to cry out (as in their extreme perill) for succour vnto the battell of aide. In this hard state of the battell, Selym losing the chaine of the wagons, opened the Trench in two places and incontinently sent forth a part of the horsemen of his garde.

And then turning hymselfe towarde the Janizars, he sayde: The victory of this day is reserved for your valor & service: wherefore plucke up good hearts, lusty laddes, and beane your selues valiantly, breake forth courageously, and being now fresh and lusty, set vpon your weary and wounded enimies. The bodies of their horses euen melt with sweate, and the horsemen themselves do now faint vnder so greate a waighe of armour. The Janizars (notwithstanding these speeches) did neither speedily nor readily obey Selym, but in so greate desperation of things, willingly kept themselves within the munitions. So that whilst they made courtsey to set forward, the Persians in this heate of the victory, being spurred rounde aboute the Europeans, slew them all. Selym beholding it, and in vayne hastying to succour them. Fabricio Carretto the greate Mayster of the Rhodes, vnto whome all these matters were very diligently reported, wrote vnto Leo the Pope, that the Janizars were not obedient vnto Selym, neyther could they be adduced eyther by his adhortation or prayers to succour the distressed Europeans, as they that (doubting the losse of the battayle,) liked better to expecte the event, than wyth appaunte perill to obiecte themselves vnto the storme of the horsemen, who had destroyed the rest of the footemen.

Nowe hadde the Persians from all partes invaded Selym. who made his abode in the battell of succour: When Senambassa a wing after him his wyng al to torne & greatly diminished, came all in tyme, the enimye following through the mids of the heapes of the Asappes, and then sending for & bringing certayn fresh troops that had escaped whole from the violent charge of vstagle, the fight is restored, & namely through the surpassing prowesse of the two brothers Turabey and Mahomet Malcocks, who being
squal

equall among the *Turkes* in noblenesse of stocke, vnto the house of the *Othomans* resembled and shewed the noble prowesse and courage of *Malcocke* their father, the renouued captain in that lamentable roade made by the *Turkes* into *Venetia*, and *Carnia*. And also not despairing but erected into hope, and very cherefull, *Selym* commanded all his ordinaunce to be shot off vpon the enemy: which thing he had reserved for the supream danger: wherewith so many horses and men, both *Turkes* and *Persians* being blended together, were slain, & when the men had lost the vse both of eyes and eares through the dust, the smoke and noise of the ordinaunce, and the horses also being affrighted wth the vnpooned terrible roaryng, contemnyng the bullets, carped their ryders an other waie, the battell was broken off, the victorie being as yet vncertaine. *Ismaell* being carried out of the danger of this storme, perceued him selfe wounded with a *Harquebus* shatte in the shoulder, when by the aduise of his friends hee wente out of the battell: to looke vpon his wounde: whiche onely thyng dode doubtlesse bying safety vnto *Selym* and all his. for the *Persians* incessantly following *Ismaell*, and his standarde, losse and forsooke the vndoubted victorie, (and by the opinion of all men,) for a greate parte already gotten. But when hee founde that his wounde was but lighte, for that the pellet could not pierce deepe, by reason of the syngular temper of his Armour, hee purposed to retourne agayne into the battayle. But hearyng that *Vstaogle* was slayne, in whome hee reposed greate truste, for his passing skill in martiall matters, and his friends also still counselleng hym not to neglect his wounde that was yet hotte, but to haue speciall regarde of his life, hee beganne to retire in a square troupe, wth a slowe pace, that his departure might not seeme to haue any shew of flight: and going vnto *Tarus* the chiefe Citie of *Armenia*, yea and of the *Persian* Empire, after he had willed the chiefe of the citie, to open their gates vnto the *Turke*, and receiue his garrison, leasse throughte vaine constancy they might receiue some greate detriment, hee departed into *Media*.

But the *Turkes* being sore shaken with so many losses, hauyng neyther courage for feare, nor force through saintnesse, to pursue the

tooke without resistance. There were found, besides tents wrought with the needle, and enterwoven with silke and golde, and other pretious furniture of household, many women of greate nobility, who had followed their husbands, al of whom *Selym* released without any ranfome. They that were present at this battell had reported, that among the heapes of the men that were slaine, diuers women were also founde, who putting on helmet and harnesse, and following their husbandes, had died with them valiauntly fighting. *Selym* losse in this battell aboue thirty thousande men, among whom besides *Cassembassa* the *Belerbech* of *Greece*, seven *Sanzes* and the two *Malcockes*, who were slaine, as the one brother endeuored to succour the other, being enclosed, and besides the despised multitude of *Assappes* objected to slaughter, the horsemen of *Sclauony*, *Macedony*, of the *Tribals*, *Epyrum*, *Theffaly* and *Thracia*, no doubt the floure and strength of his army, who were in the right wing, were for a great parte eyther slaine or sore wounded. Now vnto *Selym* being victor by the confессио of the enimies, came there Ambassadors from *Chois*, and the Cities thereabouts, and also from *Taruus*, yelding themselves vnto him, who marched to *Toruus*, mynding to winter there: but he hadde not made his aboade there aboue tenne dayes, but intelligence was giuen, that *Ismaell*, hauing sent for a strong power of *Iberian* and *Albania* horsemen, was coming towards *Taruus* with the *Parthian* horsemen, and those that had bene at the battell of *Chois*.

Then *Selym* calling to minde howe hardy in the feld he had susteyned thirty thousande *Persians*, wyth an hundred and fiftie thousande *Turkes*, and had vanquished them rather by chaunce, and his ordinance, than by true prowesse, and estimating with al the greate power of the Citizens of *Taruus*, whose fidelity and multitude he suspected: departed thence and hastened to passe ouer *Euphrates*, marching a longer way about for feare lesse he should meete the approaching *Iberians*, who although they passed with all possible speede, as fast as they once vnderstode of the *Turkes* departure, yet coulde they not overtake them, being posted ouer *Euphrates* before the *Iberians* could come: yet when the anaunturers of the *Iberians* had gotten the sight of them, they caused suche

a tumult among the *Turkes*, before they hyndermoste taylor coulde passe the riuer, th at about two thousande of them were drowned, and parte of the baggage and certaine falcons, were leste in the Riuer sticking fast in the mudde, whome the *Sophy* afterwarde weighed bp, and caried away.

¶ The Battell of *Marignano*, fought not farre from the Citie of *Milan*, betvvne Francis the French King, the first of that name, and the *Switzers* vnder the conduct of *Mathew* the Cardinall of *Sion*, and *Rossi*, but in the quarrel of *Maximilian* the Duke of *Milan*, in anno. 1515. Out of *Ionins*



Francis the French King at the beginning of his raigne, seeking to recouer the Duchye of *Milan*, leuped a puissannte armye of foure thousande men of armes, every one drawing wyth hym thre or foure hoxses, & eight thousand light hoxslemen, the Capitayne Generall of all which hoxslemen was *Charles* Duke of *Burbon*, and highe Constable, of fortie bandes and mo of *Lansquenets*, vnder the conduct of the Lorde *Floranges*, and *Charles* Duke of *Ghelders* (who among other bzought an approued regiment of olde *Boul-tours*, called of their blacke ensignes, the black regimēt) and of twenty bandes of *Gascoignes*, *Nauarries*, and other borderers on the mountaines *Pyrenes*, vnder the conduct of *Peter* of *Nauarr*. They for the greatest parte were *Arcebutalisters*, and Archers, but a kinde of *souldours* that would toile like hoxses, very venterous, light and nimble, excellent to keepe or assault a towne, and also to skirmishe.

Then hadde he so greate store of greate and small artillerpe, as would well suffise two greate armyes, and the wagens and carts that caried bouletts, gunpowder, pikeres, crows of yron, and all

The Battell of Marignano. • 99

all kinde of toles, and other things to make easie the troublesome wayes thorough the rocky *Alpes*, were almoste innumerable: All this provision was drawn by the perpetuall labour of five thousande mighty strong horses.

There also followed for desire of pillage a strong regiment of voluntarie footemen, vnder certaine ensignes and Captaines, and with them three thousande Pioners. With this army, whych for number and furniture, passed all that anye man had seene in our dayes: *France* passed the *Alpes*, and encamped betwene the towne of *Marignano*, and the citie of *Milan*, both aswell to interclude the armies of the Pope, and the king of *Spaine* from the *Switzers*, who were come to *Milan* to defende the Duke, and to make *Luiano* the Generall of the *Venetians* his confederate, more strong by the proximitye and nearenesse of his Campe, as also to defende hym from the *Spaniards*, that were very neare him.

But whilst the king was encamped at *Marignano*, *Maximilian* the Duke of *Milan*, and *Mathew* the Cardinall of *Sion* (the brynger of the *Switzers* into *Italy*) called the Captaines and Lieutenantes into the Castell, to sitte in counsell howe these perillous warrs should be administréd.

There manye were of the opinion, that the waye to obtayne the victorie, was in no wise to loyne in battell with the Frenchmen before they hadde united their power wyth the Popes and *Spanishe* armies, (the one whereof) consisted of fourtene bandes of *Italian* footemen, and three thousande horsemen: the other of eight hundred men of armes, and a thousande light horsemen, besides a regiment of olde *Spanishe* footemen: whereof every soldier being as famous for his valiaunt actes, as riche by reason of greate spoiles, didde matche bothe the petty Capitaines, yea and Capitaines in chiefe, not onely in approued stoutnesse, but also in brauery of armour: or at the leaste before they had brought the French Ryng, who trusted muche in his munitions, thorough some necessitie into a more indifferent place. And it was apparant, that the *Switzers* shold easily obtaine either the one or the other, if they woulde marche vnto a place called *Binasco*,

Dy.

standing

standing in the way vnto *Pauid*: for if the French King would
 for all this iourney of the *Switzers*, perseuere still in his sure de-
 fenced lodging, that then they might easely go from *Binasco* by the
 towne of *Sanangel*, and through a country abounding in all kinde
 of victuals, vnto the river of *Po*, whereby the bridges which were
 ready built, the armies of the confederats might ioyne with them:
 but if the French King fearing least he shoulde be stopped both
 from the Citie of *Pauid*, and also from the stone bridge over the
 river of *Tesino*, (where he had lefte a small garrison) wold march
 vnto *Pauid*: that then eyther they myght fight wth hym wth
 moze equall condition, or else incontinently tourne on the lefte
 hande vnto *Lody*: and there sending for, and receyuing into the
 Campe, the powers of the *Spanishe* King, and the Pope, they shold
 straightway tourne *Limano* from his purposed iorney, and dash
 the passing greate hope of victory, that the Frenchmen had con-
 ceuyed by their former fortunate successes. But whē these things
 were declared, and also plottes and chartes were shewed, wherein
 were described the wayes and site of the regions, that the rude
 witted men might moze certainly vnderstande and knowe those
 things which were counselled, then diuers Captaines (who indu-
 ced eyther by their olde iudgement, or else by French golde, lately
 giuen by *Francis* had accepted conditions of peace wth hym, at a
 village called *Galarato*) by their dissenting & enterlasing of vaine
 difficulties, and affirming that those things were to be surueyed
 wth great consideration and maturity cleane ouerturned at this
 meane and way of wholsome and good counsell. Wherefore leaste
 the hartes of those that were faithfull might languish by tariance,
 and the good willes of the vncertayne multitude be tourned into
 perfidiousnesse: the Cardinall thought it beste to bring them by
 all sleights to fight with the Frenchmen out of hande, thinking
 thereby eyther to winne a notable victory, or if the *Switzers* re-
 ceuyed the ouerthrowe by vnforgunate fight, to some vnappellable
 enmitie and immortall hatred betwene the French nation, and
 the *Switzers*. Having therefore communicated his counsell and
 purpose with the ensigne bearers, and the most faithfull chief men
 of the Cantons: he secretly admonished *Muris Colonna* (a Cap-
 tain

The Battell of Marignano.

101

saime of the Popes horsemen) that of a sette matche, when he had receyued the signall, hee shoulde cause an alarme to be cried, and as though the Frenchemen approached into the suburbs wpth a great power, should issue out with the horsemen, and with counterfaiting as greate fear & perill as he could possibly, shuld craue aide of the Switzers. He also comanded the foremost bands of the Switzers to do the same: who being of great renoume of valor, and hatred towarde the Frenchemen, had still requested at the beginning of all wars, to haue the places next vnto the enemies. And so accordingly the Souldiours had no soner dined, and were gone to take their none nappe, but the trumpets and drummes sodainly sounded at the gates of Rome, and anon the rumour of the comming of the Frenchemen waring hotte, all the bands one after another, when the foremoste tolde them, that followed, the cause of the alarme, made themselves ready, and with incredible seruency of fight, issued out at the gate: whome also the mistru- sted regiment folowing with aduanced ensignes, hasted on heaps vnto the gate, leass they should saime in that tumult, whiche apperteyned vnto the publike safety and estimation, eyther to haue forsaken those that were before, or to be of another opinion touching the cause of the warres.

The Cardinall being notozious for his hatte and scarlet robe, roade vpon a greate horse before the marching rankes, wpth his crosse bozne before hym, and still as he came vnto the ensigne bea- rers, the petty Captaines or any Souldiours of marke, for nota- ble faces, he would encourage and inkindle them to make speede, saying that God and the holy Saintes, did promise them the vi- ctory of that daye, in the which they shoulde not only by valiaunt fight destroye all the whole nobility of France, brought vnder the conduct of a Prince King betwene two armies of his enemies, but also breaking the power of the Venetians and Genouefe by theyr fortitude and felicity, giue lawes and conditions vnto all Italy: nor that the byred Almains, in whom consisted the Kings chiefe strength (who yet they had often foyled in fight) were so estran- ged fro the Emperour, or were of so prodigall prowes, that a man might thinke they would for the Frenchmens sakes, who indeede

D. 19.

were

The Battell of Marignano.

were their vtter enemies, fight against the honour of al *Germany*: neither yet they should thinke that the *Gascoignes*, very runaways, or those horsemen that braued it in their silkes and chaynes of golde, who had vsed to repose a little more safetie in their horses and spurres, than in their swordes, strengthe, and stomackes, would fight either more stoutly or constantly, than they had done befoze. But that labour and perill whiche was lefte, was to bee vndertaken with a noble hearte in winning the ordinance of the enemies. Where if any of them were slaine, they might most constantly beleue, that their soules being clesed from all spottes of sinne by hym, with the Popes authoritie, would forthwith flye into heauen, leauing behinde on the earthe a notable memozye of their singular valiancy. As the Cardinall ridde to the foremoste ranks, euery where stil pronouncing these speches: ther folowed hym *Gileazzo Visconti*, *Iohn Gonzaga*, *Cambero* and *Aquila* the Popes Legates, and diuers horsemen of those families. that of auntient godd will fauoured the name of *Sforza*, and had toynded themselues with the *Switzers*, when they issued out. And also certayne armed hands of the commons, and cutters, intermedled themselues of thez owne accorde with the company passing by.

They had scarcely marched thye miles from *Milan*, neyther was the French Campe aboue thirty furlongs from them, when they began to shoot off their great ordinance, which was ten falcons: whych thing brought great hofalnesse & admiration vnto the *Italian* horsemen: for *Nutius* riding with changed cheare vnto the Capitaines of the first company, began to aske them what madnesse had moued men skilfull in martiall matters, and the misters of that discipline, to strue with the vnseasonable thundering of thez ordynance, to rouse the enmye whome they had thought best to maade being vnprepared and looking for nothing lesse than battell. Vnto whom it was couragiously answered by the foremoste ranks, that they shoulde fight well enough according to the discipline of warre, euen with the armed and prouided enmye, if their mistrusted fellowes, and the ensignes of al the *Cantons* with one counsell and intent descended into the field with them;

them: which thing they hoped might be brought to passe, if that thorough that faining of moze certaine signes, that the battell was begun, had come vnto the eares of their solowng fellows, whose valoz banquished by infamous hire and mony, if that there were no shame at all in them of the publike dignitie, yet at the leasse the grones of their kinnselke falling down dead befoze their eyes, the religion of a souldiozs othe, and the fear of iudgement, which wold anone after be given at home against the forsakers of their fellows, they thought woulde be able to stirre vp and inflame them: for so greate truste of valoz was in their p'oude heartes, that they despised with very greate contempt the mosse mightye and strong power of the enimies, neyther did they thinke that any floze and multitude of greate ordinaunce, or any munitions of place woulde stay their foze from breaking into their Campe, by bearing them down and banquishing. Aboue al other, there were thzee valiaunt fellows, but men of barbarous prowesse, called *Pelegrine Landaberg*, *Centy Amerer*, and *Rafe Long*, that led the thzee voluntary bandes of mosse valiaunt souldiours that were placed in the front.

As soone as euer these menne were come within the syghte of their ennimyes, they incontintently burned oute wyth so greate heate of fight, that they coulde not be helde backe by the rest of the Captaines, who with better counsell had commanded the ensignes to staye, and to take a place to lodge in, and to refresh the souldiours, who were weary of their iourney, but that they woulde neddes haste towardes the ennimyes wyth spædye pace.

Eurben and *Fribulzi* were encamped at *Sainte Julians Churche* in a small village, and wisely lodged at the leste side of the high waye, whyche was defended on all partes wyth steepe and deepe ditches, and after the manner of the Countreys, wyth hygge bankes, nerte vnto them the kyng hym selfe, and behynde hym the Duke of *Alaunson*, (vnto whome by right of bloude the kyngdome of *France* dydde appertayne, (if that *France* dyed wythout heyre male,) hadde placed the middle battell

and

and reuerward, one being seuered from the other. by a small distance. They being thus lodged in thre parts, that the thre great armies, might the more commodiously and speedily be an aide one vnto another, when chaunce did require, were enclosed within a large and very well defended place: for rounde aboute were many ditches made by the husbandmen, to water their lands, and *Nauarro* had also added new munitions in commodious places, where it was thought good and needfull, and also had set bype against the enemy, mighty targets fastened in the grounde, and closed togyther with greate ropes, that the *Gascoignes* beyng defended and couered by them, might shote at the enemy more safely and ceratinly. This forme of the Campe, and the nature of the place had *Mutius* and certaine of the Capitaynes of the *Switzers* riding vnto the higher part of the banke, for to suruey the camp, incontinently marked, and then had also noted, that on the right hande there was a commodious place lesse for them to lodge in, where was a pretty low plaine, enclosed almost on two sides with a small riuer that rained downe vnto coyne mulles. They began to counsell the *Switzers* to encampe in that place, and their bodies being refreshed wyth rest and meate, to thinke nothing rashly of fight: they also tolde them, that as victory procedeth from counsell and good aduise, so vaine and sorrowfull attemptes from vndadulsd hardinesse: and that those men do oftner feele the aduerser euentess of fight, that truste to ouercome their enemyes by desperatenesse and fease, than those that seek victory by profitable tartiance and reason. Moreover they sayde, that the enemy was provoked againste all aboadement, bycause by an olde obseruation of that nation, that day of the weeke was all the yere after vnsfortunate, vpon the which *Childermasse* day had fallen.

This was the thirteenth of September. But when that fury and fatall madnesse (the which had neuer hapned before vnto the *Switzers* in the warres) had take away obediēce fro y^e souldiours, and authority from the captaynes: the busier sort ranne forth and attached a very cruell fight with the *Gascoignes* and *Almaines*.

Trivulzi and *Burbon*, hauyng intelligence long beefore, of the comming of the enemyes, had sette their men in array of battell,
and

and placed their ordinaunce in a fitte place, but nowe being doubtlesse pressed, did sette on fire all the houses of the village, both to staye the fease of the enimies by the fire, and also to bereaue them of the ble and munitiō of the houses, and then reduced their men into a larger place. Before the frenche ordinaunce, was there a mighty ditch, which must be passed ouer with extreame peril of desperatenesse, the whiche ditch was kepte by *Namarro* his bands, and the *Lanniqueret* men of passyng valour, wyth their thicke rankes. This ditch a bande or ring of very desperate pongmen, doubted not to passe with moze assured death than victoꝛye.

They were very chosen felows taken out of al the *Cantons*, men in the prime of youth, and of singular forwarde-nesse: who by a very auintient order of that Countrey, that by doyng some dede of passyng prowesse, they may obtaine rare honour of warrefare before they be growen in yeares, doe of themselves requeste all perillous and harde pēces of seruice, and often vse wyth deadlye praise to runne vnto proposed death. These men do they call of their immoderate fortitude, and stoutnesse, the desperats, forloz- ne hopen, and the frenchmen *Enfans perdu*: and it is lawfull for them by the prerogatiue of their prowesse, to beare an ensigne, to haue conducte, and double wages all their life long. Neyther are the forloz- ne known from the rest by anye other marke and cognisance, than the plumes of white feathers, the which after the maner of Captaines, they doe tourne behinde, waueryng ouer theyr shoulder with a bzane kynde of riot. They wyth noble courage ranne full vppon the ordinaunce, and after that they hadde valiantly and long fought with greate losse in the place of great disaduauntage, at length, when that they woulde for no incommoditie giue ouer, they dꝛyuing the *Almaines* out of the place, and beating backe *Namarro* hys bandes, came ouer the heapes of the dꝛyng vnto their ordinaunce. The which (in number seuen pēces) being taken, they relyng themselves agayne, byged their shyn- king enimyes, and disordered all the whole foreward.

In this greate daunger *Trivulzi* and *Barbon* flue hither and thither to repaire the distressed battell, to the vttermosse that they could do by strength, or prouide by counsell, sending in the horse-

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men in diuers places.

Peſſyther ſayled *Nauarro* vnto his Souldiours, by chydryng ſome, and aſking other, whether that they hadde come from the fartheſt parte of the *Ocean*, and the Mountaines *Pyrenes*, onely for to turne their backes, and moſte ſhamefully to ſpye out of the ſielde almoſte befo:e they had ſene their enemies, that they ſhould plucke by their heartes, and make ready their harquebuſſes, and bowes, and abide ſo long, vntil that their ſides were garded with freſhe ſuccour of horſemen, and thinke that they ought to wiſpe out, by fighting that day valiantly, the note of cowardiſe, or of ill lucke, that they had gotten at *Rauenna* by fighting ill. So at one time, a mighty troupe of horſemen breaking vppon them, and the *Gaiſcoignes* being ſtayed by adhortation and ſhamefaſtenefſe, and the *Franſquenets* keeping their place for anger and ſhame, a cruel and variable fighte is renewed: bothe ſydes are inuaded wpyth the horrible noiſe of the ordinaunce and weapons, and the enſignes are torne into peces: Anone *Centy* and *Pelegrine* are ſlayne fighting couragionſly, and *Pure* the Captaine of the *Pretorian* or guarde bande, and with him foure enſigne bearers are ſlaine by a greate culuering ſhotte from the ſide. Neiſther did the *Swiſſers*, (who fetchyng a longer compaſſe aboute had come vnto the enemies) faile vnto their diſtreſſed ſellowes, for they gathering thre bandes togyther into one, came in two companyes wpyth freſhe ſtrength and courage, and encounteryng wpyth the footemen on the leſſe hande, *Vue ſciatalarde*, a Captaine of the *Gaiſcoignes* of renowned name: and *Lelues* and *George Charles* of *Hellemburg*, noble men of *Germany*.

But in another parte, they loſyng a litle their rankes, did receyue in among them the charging horſemenne, where they fought long with variable and doubtfull fortune: for althoughe the men of armes cruelly treading to death the diſperſed and the ouerthrowen, did with the force and ſeaſe of their horſes breake throughe with ſlaughte the ſlight and thynne ſmall bandes, yet when they met with the thicke rankes, they were eyther broched with their long pikes, or elſe their horſes being ſlain vnder them, periſhed thorough the waighte of their armour. There were
ſlayne

dayne in that place very ballantly fighting these Capitaines of companies of hozsmen, the Erle of *Sancerre*, the Lord *Imbercourt*, a renowned man for his singular prowesse and long seruice in the warres, the Lord *Bussy de Ambois*, and *Francis* brother to the Duke of *Burbon*: and *Burbon* himself was in the like danger of life, as he himselfe said, being among the thickest of that bloudye hoyle. But afterward I heard the contrary of the kyng himself, who affirmed, naming witnesses, that *Burbon* durst not succour his enclosed brother, and retired vntouched out of the sight of the enimies vnto the middle battell. Also whilest that *Trivulzi* endeavoured in vaine to succour his enclosed and dying ensignebearer he being tossed among the pikes and halberdes of hys enimies, and his horse wounded, and the cresse stroken off from his helmet, gotte himselfe out of thys daunger by the rescous of hys company of hozsmen.

And now was the battayle hardely susseynd in mosse places, and the *Switzers*, for that they had passed ouer the very yll ditche had with greate valor wonne the ordinance, and defeating the footemen, and disordering the hozsmen, had wonne the place where their enimies had stode, seemed to haue the better of the battell: when the King aduancing forward wyth him the middle battell, and commaunding *Alencon* to solow him with the rereward with equall pace, and many peeces of ordinance being bestowed by the Capitaines in certaine places by whom the Esquadrons of the *Switzers* might bee annoyed on the sydes, came in very good time wyth the blacke regiment, and a mightye number of hozsmen, he couragiously professing bothe to hys owne souldiours, and also vnto hys enimies, by hys coate armour of *Skye* colour, powdered wyth Lillies of golde, that he was the King, was conuersant in the fore front, ballantly laide on the enemye, and perillously galloppynge hys horse hyther and thither, encountred the hottest of the enimies, & finally inflamed his souldiours not only wyth words & adhortations, but also with singular example of true prowesse: for the *Switzers* did presse on so feruently, and stode to it so sternly and stoutly, yea and so great was the valor and courage, yea of them that were wounded

and were dying, that the King in that iniquitie of fight muste needes forget his maiestie, contemne his life, and repaire his enclined state rather by valiant hand and strength, than by sleight, counsell or aduice. The horsemen also who had by running away at *Nemura* and *Turwin*, losse the olde opinion of their prowesse, did now least that if they should againe glue place, be marked for euer after with everlasting ignomy: contend to satisfy the King (who fought valiantly in the sight of them all) eyther by honorable death, or else with noble victory. There were slaine in this encounter the Prince of *Talemonde*, sonne vnto *Seigneur Tremouille*, and *Seigneur de Roy*, a man of greate nobilitie in *Picardie*, and *Seigneur Pantell*, who bare the extraordinary standerde of the Kings troupe, and many moe of the valiantest horsemen, and *Monsieur de Moy* that bare the ensigne of a very noble company of horsemen, because they being impeached and entangled wth the ditches and vines, could not get out and orderly range their bands. But of the *Switzers* there was slaine *Rafe Long*, that greate stirrer v^y of the multitude, and also *Flech*, a man more renowned for his valiaunce, than his stocke, and *VVolter Offy*, who for his singular prudence, & mighty strength (which are not lightly blended together in men of that nation) had gottē great opinion of prowesse in al warres, & especially at the battell of *Nemura*. They fought continually seauen houres without ceassing. for when the sunne had failed them in the mids of the heate of the battell, the Moone that then shined bright, kepte both armies in armes. And the fight was horrible and very bloody, as long as there was any light at all. But anon when the Moone was hidden wth the cloudes, although they being wearied with toile and woundes, and their weapons blunted, sought place for resse, yet in the meane tyme through mutall error both friends and foes were slaine by blind and frantike blowes. For when the *Almaines* not being muche unlike vnto the *Switzers*, neether in tongue nor habite, were blended together with the *Switzers* in diuers places, at length the watcheworde betrayed them, and their foule slaughter was committed in the darke. Neether ceased the ordinance all night: but as they were shotte off without any certaine markes, so did they

they cause moze terroꝝ than slaughter. The Cardinall, who had not this daye failed vnto his Countrymen in hope, care and toile, did by mistaking the place, lighte among the *Almaines*, but got himselfe out of the daunger by counterfaising their tongue by a rougher voice, and passing the ditch returned vnto the burning houses of the village, whether *Roffy* and *Anglarde*, being inuited with the shining of the fire, and many other of the Captaines resorting, as it were vnto the Generalls tent, had caused the mighty hoꝛne of a wilde *Fri*, (the which being deliuered by hand from their ancestors, is kept with great care and religion at *Fri*, the authours of the libertye of the *Switzers*) to be sounded, that the dispersed and wandering Souldiours might be called vnto the ensignes. This no doubt saved many, that were intermedled in diuers places among their enemies, because they coulde haue no certaine recourse vnto their fellows, the likenesse of the sounds of the drummes confounding their eares. Both armies by reason of mutuall feare passed the whole night without sleepe, yet were moze readye in heart, than in strength foꝝ to fight againe: foꝝ although the balliant, & also the cowardes were both tyred with the long toile of fight, yet with diuers habites of heart they were excited eyther with desire of fight, victoꝝy, oꝝ feare of death. The Cardinall, and the rest of the Captaines, although that the first opinion seemed greatly to haue deceyued them, foꝝ that they had not (as they hadde hoped) vanquished at the first charge their enemies, yea being disordered with great slaughter, and lost wyth almoste vaine attempt the stoutest of their men: yet foꝝ sake not themselves and call many into counsell, and when that it pleased them all to expecte the light, and to fight againe, they doe decree that certaine be sent to *Milan*, to requeste all kinde of helpe, foꝝ that they had come forth vnprouided of all things. *John Gonzaga* is sent to fill wyth newe hope *Maximilian*, and the Citizens of *Milan*, who were hofull of the euent of the battell, and to sende from the Citie out of hand bread and meate ready dressed, and many vessels of wine foꝝ the souldiours that fainted foꝝ wearinesse and thirst, and to conuey vnto the Campe greate ordinance, shotte and poulder wyth all possible speede. But when the Counsell was

broken vyppre, the Capitaines and ensigne bearers spake dyuersly among the Souldiours, according as euery man thought of the Cardinall and of the euent of the battell. Some beyng desirous of honour and victoꝝ, made light of the greate losse that they had in daꝛde, and did extoll and augment with false tales, the valiant actes of their fellows, and the slaughter of the Frenchmen.

Contrariwise, those of the aduerser faction, that they might spee-
dilye prouide foꝝ their owne safety, and also augment the daun-
ger of dignitie, and lyfe in the Cardinall, who was environed
with extream difficulties, disbanded, and returned to *Milan*. Also
the Popes horsemen, who foꝝ their small number had serued to
no greate vse, did foꝝ a greate parte of them, either foꝝ feare oꝝ
despaire forsake their captaines, and returne into the Citie. But
although the king were deliuered and ridde of the greatest feare,
and mightiest daunger, and seemed to haue nobly susteined men
of so greate valor, yet being hofull foꝝ the feare that remainned,
and as it were the lasse care, expected the ende of the trouble-
some night, and vncertaine fortune. Neyther did he giue greater
resse vnto his bodie, whiche was wearyed with the weight of his
armour, and was scortched foꝝ thirste and continuall toile, than
pulling vppre his beauer to take bzeath, leane a little while vppon
a greate peece of ordinance, whilest that his horse was chaunged.
And then incontynently turning to the charges of a chieftaine,
sent vnto *Liniano* to come vnto hym wyth his armie, and anon
dretwe in and made his Campe lesse. After that the deuise hadde
bene liked of the Captaynes, to whome he had imparted it, and
bycause that the enemy professed the place where his foze warde
had stode, he placed within a better defenced plot aboute fire thou-
sande *Almaines* at the banke of the ditche, and commaunded them
to guard the ordinance, which he had commodiously planted there
in greate abundaunce. And in another quarter he ioyned a great
number of horsemen with himselfe, and willed *Burbon*, and *Alen-
con*, to adimone the firste and thirde battells vnto his side wyth e-
quall order and front : so that hee standing full butte against the
enemy, did, as the place required, stand in steele of the foze warde,
and vsed the two other battells placed on his lefte and right sides
as it were foꝝ wings. Neyther farre from that place had *Namarro*,

The Battell of Marignano.

III

and a greate multitude of *Almaines* encamped, pitching downe their ensignes in the grounde, bycause when the battell was broken off by the going downe of the *Morne*, they coulde learne neither the forme of the Campe, nor the kings counsell and purpose.

The King, that hee might viewe with his owne eyes howe the ditches stode, and how broad the fiele that laye betwene them, and the highe waye was, roade south with a fewe horsemen within the sight of the enemy, and anone the darke vanishing by little and little into the dawning, the King went to encourage the *Almaines*, towhome being erected by greate promises, he adhorted to finish the battell by fighting a little while, and to take the rewards of victory already gotten. He also full of assured hope, and couragefullnesse, vehementely enkindled them by rehearsing the injuries and discomfitures, that the *Switzers* had don and given the *Almaines*, rather through the benefit of fortune, and the greate advantages of times and places, than by true prowesse. Wherefore they shoulde perswade themselves that this was the proper and ready occasion to revenge the Massacre of their kinsfolks, and fellowe Souldiours, and also the meane for to shewe by valiant actes, that as the *Almaines* did excell them in nobilitie, and faithfullnesse: so neyther woulde they graunt unto these clownes the martiall glory for valor and skill in armes. And also using the like speache he adhorted the French horsemen, not to degenerate from their forefathers, who had in former ages excelled all nations for service on horsebacke. Nextther were the battells ranged among the *Switzers* with lesse hope & courage, although y greatest parte of y souldiours, as they had with divers chaunces lodged in sundry places, y & within the incursions of y enemy, being refreshed with no succour of meate did hardly with fierce hartes susteine their fainting limmes. For the victuals that by the procurement of *Gonzaga* shold be brought from *Milan* in so shorte time, & namely in y night season, which doth comonly hinder hast in all doings, could not be brought unto them timely enough, & made ready. And also most of them when their breakefast was offered unto them anone after the breake of the day, being called to the battell by the noise of the drummes, and the roaring of the ordinance, left their meate desired before, and also needfull to repaire their strength.

The Battell of Marignano.

At the beginning dyuers Capitaynes assembled together, among whom was *Hassler & Foete* a famous mā, for the hono^r of his age, and the cognisaunces of his office, and *Chezze Amman*, who had serued in the fieldes aboue forty yeares pety Captayne, ensigne bearer, & Captaine in chiefe, and had worne singular praisse in the forefront, at that famous battel at *Nancey*, in the which the *Switzers* due and destroyed *Charles* the Duke of *Burgongne*, and al his power. These men whether adduced by consideration of the greate losse that they had receyued, or hauing intelligence of the departure of diuers of their fellows, and also now seeing through the benefit of the light, the greate disaduauntage of the places, iudged it to be beste to abstaine from battell, thinking that they had gotten estimation ynoughe by yesterdayes encounter for to breake the haughty heartes of the Frenchemen. But after they had gone aboute in vaine to stay, by dissuading praiers the ensignes, which were now aduanced foreward, and to retein them by standing against them in the way they should goe: they also yielded vnto the fate and wilfulnesse of the souldiours. So *Rafe Segne, Vissembach* of *Vnderwalden*, *Vlderick Iock*, & *Zambron*, desperate capitains of singular valour, ordering among them selues how they would attache the battell, made towardes the enemy in two companies or battells. The foremost and greatest battallion, wherein was placed the ensigne of the *Canton of Zurich* (the whyche is of highest dignitie among the *Switzers*) halsted directly agaynst the Kings battel, the which we told you stood in the mids. The other company which had stode vpon the right hand a little beneath the houses of the village that was burnt, fetchinge a greater circuit about, began to bende towardes *Alencon* the Captaine of the rereward, for this entent, that when the auauntgarde had turned the king and the strength of the French army vpon them, they might with furious charge sette vpon the side of *Alencon*, who was entrenched with weaker munitions, and defenced with lesse guard, and his battell being broken through, they myght perce into the syde of the lesse wing and the backe of the kings battell. But vnto an other multitude of their fellowes, who were encamped in a fiede on the lesse hande, on this side the high way, they appointed no certaine

certaine charge of attaching fighte, bycause they were thought to consist of *Cantons* being of small fidelitie, but did sette them three hundred paces from the reste, ouer right against the right wing, wherein *Trivulzi* and *Burbon* gouerned. When the *Switzers* had gone forwarde an arrowes shotte, the *Frenchemen* incontinently at one instant time shooting off all the kings ordinaunce vpon them, slue so many of them with singular celeritie, that they which hadde taken counsell of foolish hardinesse, were punished for their rashnesse before that they coude come to hande strokes, yea or appoche vnto their enimies. For since this chance had caused an horrible wastenesse and slaughter in the middes of the *Switzers*, so that there was no longer one body of their battallion, their rankes being tozned: parte of them that feared the second voly, began to turue their backes and to retire, but parte despising the ordinaunce, againe gaue a charge vpon the enimies, and with more constant valor and desperatenesse, than ever they had vsed before, giuing and taking many woundes, passed the ditch, and encountering with the *Lansquenets* and the kings horsemen, did many actes of laudage promise: for when *Trivulzi* and *Burbon* stretching out in length their wing, and fetching a compasse about with their horsemen, had charged their left side, they were forced to fight with double front. But the *Lansquenets*, who had in this most sharpe encounter losse their stoutest Capitaines, *James Condey*, *Henry Ricart*, and *Saxe*, being made for anger and griefe, did valiantly sette forwarde, and repressed their violence, and with the shotte of their harquesses, tumbled from his horse *Poitouier* (one of greates renowne among the Capitaines of the *Switzers*, for the tallenesse of his stature, and the balauntinesse of his baste) as he roade vnto the rankes, and encouraged his souldiours with a loude voice, and vsed reprochfull wordes against the *Almaines*: who in the sight of the *Switzers* annointed their bloudy pikes in the tallow & grease of his mighty and fatte body, that ranne out at his wide woundes, which thing is accompted among the *Barbarians*, in deadly hatreds for a verie graue ceremony of reuenge fully acquitted. There also *Zambon*, and *Anty Eucher*, menne of strong courage and terrible stature,

The Battell of Marignano.

whyle that they guided wyth singular skill mightye two hand-
 swordes, in the middes of the *Almaine* batallion, cutting off a
 greate number of their pikes, and slaying many of their enemies,
 were at the laste oppressed, when all the whole battell turned up-
 pon them. Then also was *che* *Amman* slaine, hys horse being
 firste killed, and he himselfe also shotte in with thre arrowes: a
 man who being of that yeares, had by encouraging and fighting
 many houres, committed the duty neyther of a very good capitayn,
 nor a moste valiant souldiour, where as the rest of the Captaines
 (that I spake of) had dyed before that they came to fight with the
 enemy, being torne into peces with the ordinance. And when
John Berre the ensigne bearer of the *English*, being wearied wyth
 many woundes was not able any longer to keepe the ensigne, he
 pulled it off from the staffe, and tore it into very smal peces, that
 hys enemies might not gaine it, and then dyed. Moreover in the
 meane tyme, the *scotische* battell, whiche was to be your defended
 unto *Alenon*, inferred so greates terrour unto the rewarde, that
 the *ho* *French* for a greate part (*Mosieur Beaumont* their ensigne
 bearer being slaine) at the firste meetinge turned their backs,
 and fledde a maine on the spurre towarde *Lod*, which caused the
Belants and many eopies that were in the fields, seeing the french
 horsemen fleeing among the cartages, to write unto all partes of
Italy, that the *French* King was discomfited, and the *Switzers*
 had gotten the victory.

And doubtlesse the *Frenchmen* in y quarter had ben brought in-
 to very great danger, if that *Emar Priem*, and the Lord *Obergney* ca-
 pitaines of singular experience, who were wyth *Alenon* saving
 them that fledde, relying the ensignes, and casting the souldi-
 ours into a ring, had not borne the brunt of the fight with surpass-
 ing paine and toille. And also *Linsano* was a greate succoure unto
 the disordered: who with a company of noble men of armes came
 before the reste of his power whiche folowed after. And as he
 was a man greasy of sight, and to doe some feat, encouraging hys
 horsemen to folow him without doubting or slaying, so he gaue
 a charge overthwart the side of hys enemies: whom two bandes
 of *Switzers* (turning their ensignes) receyved very couragiously,
 and

and wounding many, and slaying *Cepino*, the sonne of the Earle of *Perugia*, a young Gentleman of passing towardlinesse, did repell farre from them the hostely charging horsemen. Yet that company of *Switzers* being moze terrified by hys coming, than hys power, for that they thought all the whole power of the *Francoisians*, (who were indeede neare) were already come, beganne to prouide for their safety: for some of them being quite spent with wearinesse, woundes, thirste, and sweate, gotte them into the Gardens that neare adioyned: where a greate parte of them were slayne, when that the horsemen were sent after them, yea from the kings battell: other retiring into the nexte village, after they had long time defended themselves at the gate, & walls, vnder the conduct of *Tuler Cefuse*, a very valiant captain, at the last, being won and vanquished with the ordinance and fire, most cruelly perished: but other being despered, and fleeing backe vnto the greatest compaigne or battell of their fellows, the horsemen chasing them in those very large and open fieldes, had ben wholly destroyed, if that by the aduise and valoz of certayne olde souldiours (who in that frowning of fortune being mindefull of discipline, neuer failed vnto themselves and their fellows) they had not retired vnto their fellows that were on this side the ditches and high way, in a thicke Squadron. Almost at the very same time the thirde battell of the *Switzers*, the which we shewed you had stode over right against *Trivulzio* and *Burbon*, eyther bycause they sawe the iniquitie and disaduantage of the battell, or else were adduced by detestable counsell, for that they had rather satisfy their faction and hatred, than publike necessity in being beholders of the slaughter and powells of other men, beganne to retire wyth their ensignes towardes *Aslan*, neyther woulde they as men thorowghly attached wth feare once come into the battell to fight, the whych yet they were almoste forced to do: seeing that they had all the lyght horsemen in sight, & were often shot at with the great ordinance: which being polittically hidden behinde the horsemen, were at the laste when the troups had opened at the sounde of the trumpet, often shotte off in the boide spaces. Wherefore when the reste of the *Switzers* (whome wee lefte fighting at the kings battell)

D.y.

inflamed

The Battell of Marignano.

inflamed with fury and wrath, kepte their grounde rather by obstinacy of heartie, than strength, and sawe other freche regimentes of Lainsquenetz to whom the fight hadde not yet come, ready to come vpon them: they despairing of the victory, sounded the retraite, for a little before they had receyued a greate Detriment at the ditch: being maruellously endamaged from the higher ground by an innumerable multitude of arrowes, shotte by the *Gascoignes* Arcubastiers, who being placed harde by the harquebusiers, that the one might haue time to charge their harquebusses, and the other to bende their crossebowes, did so shoot off one after another by hundredes, with mutuall running backe, that the battell of the *Switzers* being ouerwhelmed with the continuall haile of the shotte, were without reuenge beaten down, they in vaine seeking succour of prowesse and valor. The battell being thus broken off, when that *Rosly, Ronne, Angirde*, and the other Capitaynes coulde not succour so greate and so disorderd a multitude, by admonishment, and commanding them what they should doe, nor easily doe the duties of captains, the souldiours themselues, yea although they were quite spoyled by so many incommodities, did in that iniquitie of things prescribe vnto themselves wyth meruelous constancie and singular skill, what was to be done, that they might not seme to fle. For hauing a care of the wounded, two souldiours did wyth singular pittie cary on their armes and shoulders one man weakened with woundes, and bringing backe euery one of the peces of ordinance that they had brought from *Milan*, strengthened the hyndermost taile with a garde of the fresher Souldiours. But they marched with so staled a pace, that their departure seemed to haue no similitude of flight: neyther indeede coulde they be easely inuaded, because they were defenced on both sides of the highe way wyth very deepe and continuall ditches. The Frenchmen, who had stode armed in the battell twenty houres together, and the mosse part of the time with doubtfull victory, and their limmes nowe slowd with sweate, and their horses fainted for wearinesse, and had almoste losse the sense of their eyes, and eares with the thicke miste of the raised duste, and the incessant and horrible thundering of the ordinance, made an

ende

end of pursuing: yet having so gotten the victory, that they rather
banquished them by fighting valiantly than taught, that by all
mens opinion it is impossible to overcome them again by any po-
wer. The Switzers being very courteously and liberally recey-
ved and entertained in their olde lodgings at *Milan*, did put in the
publike hospitalles those that were greuously wounded, and then
gatie the reste of the daye and the night following to recreate their
bodies. The next daye they filled the broad streete that lyeth
before the Castell, with so greate a number, that by the estimati-
on of all men, they seemed to have receyved almoste no losse at all.
There they holding a counsell, requested thre moneths pay, and
unless that it were presently payed, they said they wold go home.
But when *Maximilian* could not personne it, because he hadde
not so muche ready money, they incontinently aduanced theyz
ensignes at the gate that leadeth to *Como*, and went home. When
a biewe was taken of them that were slaine, the Frenchmen con-
tended, that of the five and twenty thousande Switzers that had
come forth into the fiede, scarce the one halfe of them returned,
and that of their men there were not aboue thre thousand slaine.
But the Switzers did verie muche augment the number of the
Frenchmen that they slue, and holding a muster at home in theyz
countrie, confessed that they had losse in that voiage, to the num-
ber of five thousand very valiaunt men. Among the carcases of
the enimies, *Claude Duke of Guise*, brother unto *Antony Duke of*
Lorraine was found drawling onwarde to death, but yet was saued.
This yong Gentleman of singular towardlinesse, was Capitayn
of the Lansquenets, and had fought so valiantly in the fore ward,
that being soze wounded, and at lengthe the whole battallions
of the Switzers lying vppon hym, he was beaten downe
among the deade of his ownemen, and bys enimies.

After the departure of the Switzers, the kynge had

the whole Duchye of *Milan* yelded vnto
to hym with the Duke, and also

Placentia and *Parma* by the Pope

¶ The Battell at *Synga* fought in *Syria* be-
 twene *Selym* the great *Turke*, and *Campson*
 the *sultan* of *Aegypt*, in anno. 1516. Out of *Iohns*.



Selym the greate *Turke* intending a seconde
 voyage againste the *Sophy*, sente Legates
 onto *Campson* the *Sultan* of *Aegypt*, whome
 hee understode had lately entered into lea-
 gue wyth the *Sophy*: that he might with-
 out any displeasure or impeachmet of his,
 pursue the *Sophy* with warres, who hadde
 brought so many and so greate calamities
 into *Asia*, and by inducing of helpe su-
 perstitions, vehemently laboured to deprave and deface the most
 certaine lawes of the *Mahumetane* religion. But when *Campson*
 had answered that he woulde haue no peare with him, vntlesse
 that he woulde abstaine from mglesting the dominions of the *so-
 phy*, and also restore *Aladine* the expelled sonne of the King of the
Adoles vnto hys fathers kingdome: *Selym* changed his purpose,
 and striking downe from the Mountayne *Taurus* into *Comagene*,
 came with aboue an hundred thousande armed men, and a great
 number of felde peeces within two days iourney of *Alipo* (where
 the *sultan* was with a small power) before that proude *Campson*,
 who had thought to terrifie *Selym* with his only auctoritie, and the
 greatnesse of his name, coulde be perswaded that hee hadde pas-
 sed the mountaynes. But when hee was thus caught vnprovidcd,
 and was forced to consulte in the midst of his daunger what was
 to be done: he began to wauer, and to be tossed to and fro, wyth
 feare and shame, not being able to be redily resolued, whether he
 should with stout stomack abide by it, and try the fortune of bat-
 tell with greate disaduantage, or warily giue place vnto the im-
 minent deadly storme, and retire backe into moze safer places vn-
 till that hee had leuied a greater power. There were some of the
 Captaines that preferred safe aduises before glorious, and abuse
 all other one *Iamburd*, surnamed *Gazelles*, a man brought vppe by
 the great *Cairbey*, and a valiaunt man, and famous for martiall
 prudence

prudence, and also Captaine of *Amanus*, and *Apamia*, who as hee thought it woulde bring greate calamity to encounter in battell the mighty and olde army of the enimies, with so small powder: so he said that it was best to retire backe with speedie marche, and to chuse the seate for the warres at *Damascus*, the which might be very safely and easily be done, because the *Turkish* armye hauing many footemen, and also being combed with wagons, was slowe to pursue them. In the meane time all the rest of the *Mamelukes* which were in garrison in *Iudea*, and *Aegypt*, being sent for, and also the *Arabians* their neighbors byed to serue them, the warres might be prolonged vntill that the enemy might be easily overcome thozough lacke of victualles. Neyther woulde *Alepo*, if that it were strengthened but only with a small garrison, straight way yeelde vnto the *Turkes*, seeing they had no other ordinance wyth them, than helde peeces, and by this tyme to, there woulde come aide of *Perians* out of *Mesopotamia*, and also the *Sophy* hymselfe vnderstanding of the *Turkes* botage, woulde breake forth into *Asia* the lesser, neyther woulde the *Christians*, (if they were requested by legates) faile to supply greate ordinance against the common enemy, out of the *Isles* of *Cyprus*, and *Rhodes*. Which being gotten, and their power made match vnto the *Turkish*, then he might (if he thought it to be so gloriofous a thing to aduenture the battell) not rashely descende into the felde. But verpe grienous, and watghty warres, whych haue at the fyrste belement and sodaine violent braides and forces, doe commonly languishe in time thozough the prudent lingering of theyr aduersaries. Therefore hee shoulde not haste to make proofe of fortune, seeing that the errors and escapes of warres, which oftentime procede from the vnskilfulnesse and rashnesse of the chieftayne, ail good men may betwayne and hartily detest, but to restore and amend them, no not the immortal Gods themselues are able. *Gazelles* had moued manye wyth hys oppoztune and graue sentence, but that the stouering of the *Souldiours*, and the folishe couragiousnesse of the *Mamelukes* (the garde of the *Sulran*) were a greate impeachment vnto *Campsons* cares, for well hearing of the truth: for as soone as they hadde hearde moze certayne newes of the commynyng
of

The Battell of Synga.

of the *Turkes*, they leaped and skipped ouer all the Campe, for incredible toy, laughed, smiled, and rubbed the elbow, and one gratulated another, that a time had come wherein they might shewe their valor and win glory: And that nowe they would holde faste this so long wished for occasion, thozough the which they discomfiting, and slaying his enimies, wold ertoll their Emperour *Campson* above the title and moſte renoumed ſawie of *Caitley* the great. Deeper wanted there ſome of the chiefe, who by reherſing of ſattery, and vaine boaiſting, wiſh how greate glory they had diſcomfited at *Tarſus* the mighty armye of the *Turkes*, almoſte with no labour, boldely ſayde, that the enimie would be eaſily and ſpeedily vanquiſhed. But ſpecially *Cayerbey*, the lieſtenaunt of *Alexo* and the Province of *Cemagene*, haſted by ſpeaking many high wordes of the zelous endenour, prowelle, and heate of the *Mamlukes*, to make light of thoſe things which had berne repoſed of the prouiſion, furniture, and number of the enimyes, and to ouerthrow the reaſons of moſt holſome counſell: The which hee did of pernicious treaſon, as hee that had intelligence that the *Sultan* mente to put him to death, as hee had alſo done his brother, but deſerred the execution thereof, bycauſe that hee had in the Campe a verpe ſtrong power of friendes, and alſo was ſingularly wel beloued of the Citizens of that mightie Citie, wherein hee poſſeſſed a verpe ſtrong Caſtell. Moued with the which perill, hee had ſent priuite meſſengers vnto *Selym*, who ſhoulde in hys name offer to pleaſure him priuily, to the vttermoſt of his power, and to ſhew vnto him all the counſells of *Campson*, and what his power was, and to aduiſe him to haſten to fight with the *Sultan*. Thus *Campson* deſpiſing *Gazelles* counſell, the which was very faithfull and wholeſome, and impelled by the adhortation of the traitour *Cayerbey*, and of al the *Mamlukes* incontinently at the firſt newes of *Selyms* appoach determined to darrepyne battell wyth hym. The *Sultan* was encamped in a commodious place at the riuer of *SINGA*, almoſt x. miles from the Citie, for this reaſon, that the ſouldiours might vſe the neareneſſe of the Riuer, and bee remoued oute from the houſes and delightes of the Citie, and yet neuertheleſſe might be eaſely holpen with the commodities, riches, and power therof.

The

The Battell of Synga.

121

The Mamaluches (a kind of ordinary souldiours, out of whom the Sultan was alwayes chosen) were scarce twelue thousande: but euery one of them according vnto the greatnesse of his wages, and wealth, had many seruants attendant on hym, very well appointed wth armour and horses. The Mamaluches terrible men for theyr long beardes, and threatening eyes, mightily braloned in all parties of their bodie, and very nimble, do vse to fight wth such arte, that after the firste shotte of theyr Launces, they wth a certaine wonderfull agilitie and valour, do vse nowe their arrowes, casting their shielde behinde them, then their mace of yron, sometimes a sword crooked like vnto a sithe, as the place and encounter doe require. Their horses are strong and hot, and for making and swiftnesse like vnto the Genets of *spaine*, and that which doth seeme to be beyonde the opinion of our men, they doe especially excell in so greate docilitie, that they haue learned by nature and v^{se}age to reach by vnto their riders a lance, or arrowe taken by from the ground wth their teeth, to knowe the ennemies, and to flye on them wth their teeth, and beating downe all round about them wth their heeles: and all this do they by signes and certaine voices uttered by their maisters. Upon these horses are seene saddles gilt, bittes of silver, defences for their necks & breast of yron plates. The horseman himselfe is contented wth a shirt of maille, or a coate of plate. The horsemen of the foze rankes, and al that are renowned for riches, weare helmiets, the reste doe thinke themselves sufficiently defended against all blowes by the linnen couer of their hed, the which is finely w^{re}tched wth many rolls: but the basest sorte vse red thummed battes that can not be cut thorough with the weighty stroke of a sword. *Campion* diuided his army into fide battells: the firste he committed to *Cayserbey*, because that the battell was fought in his prouince: the seconde to *Sibey*, who was surnamed *Dulman*, that is to say, the Tumbler, for his wonderfull nimblesse of bodye: he was Prince of *Damascus*, a man of singular fidelitie and prowesse. These two battells should at one time charge the right and lefte wings of the *Turkes*. Then did *Gazell* followe wth the thirde battell for to succoure the one of the other, as the case shoulde require: The fourth gi-

The Battell of Synga.

stering with guslt armour, *Campson* hymselfe ledde, twelue furlongs distant from the resse, as it were for a battell of succour.

The fiftte battell was leftte to guarde the Campe. But *Selym* had so aranged his army, that according vnto his accustomed manner, he placed the ho:semen of *Asia* in the right wing, and the ho:semen of *Europe* in the lefte: but the *IaniZars* with the great ordinaunce in the middle battell. And befoze the *IaniZars* in the front of the middle battell stode the moste bruely appointed and valiant ho:semen of the *Guarde*, among whome *Selym* woulde be that daye contrary to hys wonte. As soone as the armies appoched one vnto the other, *Cayerbey* for shewe of a noble courage gaue a sharpe onfet on the *Europian* ho:smen, and straight way as though he woulde haue enclosed their battell, he defeated with a long circuite about on their backs, where he dysordered wyth greater terroz than slaughter the hindermoste taile, where the drudges, the baggage, and innumerable Camells were: that being bothe valiaunt and also traisterous, he might serue both to satisfie hys honour, and also hys falsheode.

But in another quarter the Prince of *Damascus*, that he might inuade the ennimies on the open side, omitting the fronte, and byrning aboute hys troupes towarde the lefte bande, gaue a charge ouerthwarte the enlinies: and the *Mamalukes* fought so feruently, that committing a greate slaughter of the *Asians*, they perced like vnto a moste vtolent streame euen vnto the ensignes, which had bene placed in the middes of the battell. Seyther after that the foremoste were ouerthrowen, coulde *Mustapha* the *Bellerbeck* (he was an *Hungarian*, sonne in lawe vnto *Baias*) and *Imbrahorbas* the maister of the kings horse (who contended wyth great force vnto the contrarye) longer stave the ho:semenne, but that they fledde.

So the victorizous Prince hauing cut into two parts the wing of the enimies, was come adelong vnto the scoteme, and the backs of the ho:semen of the *guarde*, and filled alinost all the middle battayle wyth slaughter and terrour. The *Turkyshe* state stode in greate daunger, for that *Selym* was by the incursion of the enisies almost cut off from his scotemen (in towh he reposed

hys

his greatest hope) and also the hoysmen of the garde were very sharply pressed by Gazelles : who following the fortune of the Prince of *Damascus*, had now charged the middle front, and finally the *Asian* hoysmen being disordered and defeated, coulde finde no meane to repaire the fight, when *Synambassa* came to succoure them being in greate distresse. By his cunning, who had bene aided by *Cayerbey* with none or small fight, and thereby brought in a frethe multitude of hoysmen, the audacitie of the *Mamelukes* was abated, and the courages of the *Turkes* encreased, and anone after the victory also was taken away from the enemy. When by *Selym* commaundement the ordinance was shot off full vpon the enemies : whose vnaccustomed thundring did so affright the *Mamelukes* their hoyses, that their riders coulde not rule them, neyther could they themselves do any good with al their singular and wonderfull valor, because they were enclosed in the mids by the infinite multitude of their enemies. Yet notwithstanding, in this asperitie of things, were not their harts broke, neyther although they were forsake by *Cayerbey* and fortune, failed they vnto themselves, either in aduise or valor : for vnitng themselves all together into one thicke tronpe, they brake throughe the battell that stood befoze them, with the slaughter of the *Europeans*, and the detrimēt of the wing of the hoysmen of the garde, and beganne to make their continued course vnto the Campe and Citie. In none all the reste also were made to flye, *Synambassa* pursuyng them wyth the lightest and the freshest of the hoysmen : for *Selym*, who hadde that daye wythout all doubt appeared greater than hymselfe for the patience and sufferance of bodye that hee shewed in that extreame heate, the couragiousnesse of his hearte, and the felicitie of his counsell had (being hitther and thether) adhorted his men to folow the victory, and pursue the affrighted. Now had *Campes* aduanced forwarde bys battell, eyther that hee might succour his men, or be present at the victory, if the *Turkes* were vanquished: when hee vnderstode, by the way of those that fled, that *Cayerbey* hadde revolted, his power was defeated, neyther coulde now, the flight of, them be stayed : finally so greate was the

The Battell of Synga.

force of the ordinance, and so greate the multitude of the enimies, that they were able no longer to sustaine them. With the which newes the haughty olde man of Ierxij. yeres, who liuing in perpetuall tranquillity of state had neuer before scene fortune frowne, conceiuing a supracome griefe, almoste wounded, no2 long after a company of his owne fleeing men, and also of the pursuing enimies (who being carted wth violent conrse vppon the spurre, threwe downe all that they met indifferently wythout regarde) comming vpon hym : *Campson* being loaded wth peares, and the waight of a mighty Hernia or rupture, and also fainting for extreame heate and sorowe, was sinouldered in that duste. *Porco* neuer as the *Mamaluches* fledde amaine vnto the Campe, and from thence vnto the Citie, the Princes of *Damascus*, and *Tripol* endeavouring to sustaine the force of their vyging enimies, in the hindermoste taile were slaine. But *Selym* causing a fewe tents to be set vp in the same felde where they had fought, and the greater parte of his army being placed in station, passed that night without sleepe, as he that being ignorant of his victorie and fortune, did greatly feare leasse that men of so greate valor would haue returned againe that night, and giue a *Camisado* vnto his camp: Whence he himselfe had scene, that they were defeated, and made to flye rather for feare of the ordinance, than by the true prouelle of his Souldiours. But afterward when *Gazelles*, and the rest of the *Mamaluches* had moze certaine intelligence of *Campsons* death, they departed from *Alepo* with speedy pace, & hasted vnto *Damascus* at the fourth watch, their horses being scarce yet refreshed of their wearinesse. The next day *Selym* marching forward, graunted vnto his souldiours the spoyle of his enimies Campe, the whiche was full of all royall riches : and from thence marching vnto the Citie, receyued the yelding *Alepans* with their Captaine *Cayerey*, and graunted them to be free from payng tribute. There died in this battell not aboue one thousand *Mamaluches*, but moe of their seruants: and greater slaughter was committed in the flight than in the fight. For when their horses fainting with sweat, and dying euery where for thirst, they were sette on foote, and were easily oppressed by euery cowardly souldiour, for a greate num-
ber

The Battell of Synga.

125

ber of noble horses died, because they beyng very fatte, and kept ou-
ner delicately in the shadowe, and stable, coulde not bearyg vehem-
ment and vnwonted labour, and namely that daye, when the
Sun scorched all things with his inmoderate blaze. This field
was fought the five and twentyth of August, vpon the very same
day (which is wonderfull) that two yeares before he had vanqui-
shed the *sophy* in battell. But they report, that on *Selim's* side there
were slaine aboue thre thousand horsemen : that hereby we may
confecture how great a slaughter he had receyued, if that the lesse
wing, which had remayned vntouched thorough the benefitt of the
traitour *sinambuffa*, had also lighted on his portyce of *Damascus* : al-
beit in very deede seeing that *Selim* was fully strengthened and esta-
blished with the freshe and yet whole and vntouched guard of his
foemen : it was thought that he coulde not come into any daun-
ger of safety or ignomy. Two dayes after was the body of *Campo-
son* found, without wound, by them that were appointed to search
for hym, the which *Selim* commaunded to be openly shewed : that
those nations which thought with obstinate credulity, that *Campo-
son* was yet liuing, and gone towrdes *Caire* to repaire hys power,
might be depriued of all the reste of their hope, and also they whi-
che were faithfull vnto the *Turke*, might be made ever after more
firme, nowe that all suspition of that matter was quite taken a-
way. For long after, when the body began to stinke, and the fame
of the common people seemed to be sufficiently reproued by the w-
ing of the body thre dayes, it was buried with small funeralls at
a very auncient Temple of the Citie. *Alepo* being yelded,
Selim marched vnto *Damascus*, a Citie of verie greate riches
and power, wherby also yelded : whose example caused
the Cities on the Sea coaste, and especially *Tri-
poli*, *Beritus*, *Sidon*, and *Acres*, to sende Le-
gates vnto *Selim*, wyth surrender
of themselves vnto hys de-
menche and fealtie.

¶ The Battell of *Gaza*, fought betweene
Synambassa Chieftaine for *Selym* the Turke,
 and *Gazelles* Lieutenaunt of *Tomumbey* the Seldan of *Aegipt* in
 1590. 15. 6. Out of *Iohn*.



After the death of *Campso*, *Selym* minding
 to pierce *Aegipt*, sente befoze from *Damascus* *Synambassa* into *Iudea* with fiftene
 thousand horsemen, and a strong power
 of *Harquebussiers*, which had been cho-
 sen out of the *Janizars* and *Asappes*, for
 to surney all that region, and to open
 the way vnto *Gaza*, the which was con-
 versourne and troublesome, by reason of
 the *Arabians*. That Citie standeth on the Sea coaste, and in the
 fines of *Aegipt*, neare vnto the sandy desertes, throughe whome
 they muste go with a harde and painfull sojney that will trauaile
 vnto the farther *Aegipt*, and vnto the Citie of *Caire*. The Citizens
 of *Gaza*, bycause they had no garrison of souldiours, at the very first
 receyued *Synambassa*, and subtilly thanked hym for that he hadde
 vouchsafed to deliuer them out of the intollerable slauerye of the
Mamaluches: for thomemozie of the which benefite they promised
 to be, and remaine true and faithfull vnto *Selym* and his successors
 for ever. But whylest that *Synambassa* expected in Campe wythin
 an arrowe shote of the Citie, the comming of *Selym*, learning out
 diligently in the meane time the region that they must passe tho-
 rough to goe into *Aegipt*, and endeououring to winne the friend-
 shippe of the *Arabian* Capitaines, and suborning espies to goe
 vnto *Caire*, to learne the counsellors of the *Mamaluches* and *Tomum-
 bey* (whom they had chosen after the death of *Campson* to be Sultan)
 the Citizens of *Gaza*, who by nature were extreame enemies vnto
 the Turkes, and now began to feele dayly great dammage throughe
 the present *Turkische* army, certified *Tomumbey* of the comming of
Synambassa, and also gaue hym to vnderstand, that the same power
 of the Turkes might be easily oppressed and destroyed befoze that
Selym

The Battell of Gaza.

127

Selym we re come, if that a strong crue of *Mamalukes* with shalshul Capitaines were sent vnto them: for whilst the *Mamalukes* did in the deade time of the nights at a time agreed bypon betwix the Citizens and them, invade the sleeping *Turkes*, they would also at the selfe same momēt, sally out of the Citie and disorder and deface the enemies campe with fire and sword. *Tomambey* and the *Mamalukes* doe incontinently like the deuise, and sende *Gazelles* with fire thousande horsemen or *Mamalukes* and a greate multitude of *Arabians*. But he was scarce departed from *Caire*, but *Synambassa* had intelligence thereof by *Syrain* spies, and howe they hasting without any cariages, would be there within two daies.

The whiche newes, as it saued the *Turkish* army, so also was it of greate moment to the obtayning of the entire victorie of the whole warres. But althoughe *Synambassa* had no intelligence at all of the falshode of the *Gazans*, yet because he did suspecte (as he was a man of a prouident and wise head) that the like might happen vnto hym, determined lesse that he might haue to doe wth two enemies at once, to meete the *Mamalukes* by the waye and to trye the fortune of fight. Therefore dislodging, after the seconde watche, he wth greate silence departed out of the sight of the Citie, and marched fiftene miles in the way towards *Caire*.

For he was come neare vnto a small village, where all travellers doe commonly vse to lodge, by reason of the commoditie of a plentifull Spring that riseth in that place.

It fortuned that *Synambassa* was minded to stay in that village, and also *Gazelles* had likewise thought to rest there certaine hours and refrehe his men and horses, that he might spee to *Gaza* in the night time on hys refreshed and harned horses: when almoste at one time it was tolde the Christians on both sides by the quante curriers, that there was a mighty duste raised, and that the enemies approached.

Gazelles being vehemently troubled in mind with this vnlooked for chaunce, for that he perceyued he should misse of hys purpose and entent, and be vnable to watche the enemye, if he wold encounter hym, specially seeing hys horses were weary: yet for all this, hys hearts sayeth hym nay, althoughe he were forced

The Battell of Gaza.

forced presently vpon a sodaine to denise what was to be done
 for the common safety of the whole armie: and adhorteth his soul-
 diours to make ready their weapons, and to thinke, that the thing
 which they coule not doe by ambuſhe and ſtealth, as they hadde
 ment: they muſt now diſpute openly by true haloz. On the o-
 ther ſide *Synambaffa* hauing his men farre ſoner ſette in array, than
Gazelles coule, bycauſe he had tolde them long before at leſure,
 what he woulde haue to be done, if they ſhoulde happen to fight:
 vſed long and chearefull ſpeeches vnto all the rankes of his ſouldi-
 ers: but the ende of his oration was, that they ſhoulde quite for-
 gettall ſtaying away, ſeing that all places round about them wold
 be both aduand, miſions to them unleſſe they were victors: and ſpe-
 cially that they ſhoulde fully perſuade themſelues this one thing,
 that no man ſhoulde periſh that day: but he whom God almighty
 had predeſtinated to death by the moſt certaine lawes of fate, and
 that with equal perill the valiant ſhoulde finde ſafety in the mids
 of the enemies ſwordes, and alſo the fearefull death in their moſt
 ſafeſt fight through the power of vnauinable lot. The harque-
 buſſers were in the wings, the which were ſtretched forth in length,
 with a ſingle array, and one man not ſtanding very nere vnto an-
 other, that they mighte be able to vſe their harquebuſſes moze
 freely, and compaſſe in the enemy: but the pike men were placed
 in the mids, ſay to ſuſtaine the impreſſion of the *Mamelukes*. But
Gazelles appoaching, ſent the trouper of the *Arabians* before, for to
 diſturbe the wings, and he himſelfe with a ſquare battell charged
 the middle battell of the *Turks*. The fight was very cruel, & a long
 time doubtful; for that the *Turks* yea though ſuperior in number,
 were not able to abide the force of the armed hoſilmen, & now being
 beaten from theſe ground, and diſperſed ſome one way, and ſome
 another, by the *Mamelukes*, that brake in among them. Looked
 rounde about for flight, both with eyes and heartes: when by *Sy-
 nambaffas* commandement the harquebuſſers, who had with the firſt
 ſhott of their ſhot ſtraue away by *Arabians*, reducing their wings
 encloued all the whole battell of the enemies. When both men, and
 hoſilmen were a ſecond time taken down with moztall pellets, whi-
 che were ſhot by the mighty *Mamelukes*, and no place for refuge was
was

was lefte vnto the enclosed, for when that any troupe of *Mamalu-ches* did run their hozses violently vpon the *Turkes*, they by reason of their lightnesse and nimblenesse, being accustomed to giue grounde, did very swiftly flye backe : and in all places this was their endeuour, not to encounter them wpth their hozses, but to vse only their harquebusses. When *Gazelles* sawe that his hozses were tyzed with extreame wearinesse, and that now many of his stoutest men were eyther slaine or hurt, and he himselfe was grievously wounded in the necke, he wpth the reste making themselves away wpth their weapons, fledde vnto *Caire* thozoughe those wildernesses that he came, losing all his Ensignes.

There perished in this battell the Captaine of *Alexandria*, and *Orcomas* the Governour of *Caire*, men of greate accompt, and besides them a greate number of *Arabians*, and almoste a thousande hozsemen of marke. Neyther did *Synambassa* winne a joyfull and vnbloody victoꝝy, for he losse aboue twu thousand hozsmenne, and among them some of the beste of his Capitaynes.

But because the fight had continued from none to Sunne

sette, the *Turkes* were not able to pursue their enimies, their hozses being almoste deade for thirst,

and they themselves fainting thozoughe

lacke of meate, and extreame

laboure : but encamped in the

place where the battell was fought

neare vnto the Spring a-

foze mentioned.

S.

The

¶ Three battayles fought betweene *Selym*
the great Turke, and *Tomumbey* the Sultan
of Egypt, in the yeares .15. 16. and, 17. Out of Iouius.



After that *Selym* had intelligence that *Synambassa* had taken *Gaza*, and discomfited *Gazelles*; and also hee himselfe had receyued a fre the supplye of souldiours by sea from *Constantinople*: he marched with his whole armye vnto *Gaza*, and from thence within eghte dayes came neare vnto the chiefe seate of the Sultan, called *Caier*, *Synambassa* always going a days sojney before hym. Six myles from the Citie, is there a Tillage called *Rhodania*, into the which place *Tomumbey* the new Sultan, had brought al his olde and newe prouision and furniture of great ordinance, and had made ditches crosse ouer al the plain fielde, and the high waye, the which ditches he had couered ouer with small sticke and earth layd vpon them: and he himselfe had stode in an oportune place with the *Mamaluches*, who were about xij. thousand, & a great number of *Arabian* bozmen, for this intent, that when the hoste of the *Turkes* did beginne to appoche, they might be beaten downe by the vnthought of ordinance before that they coulde come to reache the *Egyptians* with theyr *Harquebusses*, and then he himselfe being spread rounde about them, woulde incontynently fyght with them beinge disordered and fallen into the ambushe.

These things were so cunningly and prudently deuised, & also perfected in so good tyme, that no man in the armie did thynk that the victorie of that day was any thing to be doubted of. Doubtlesse a gret calamitie hanged ouer the *Turkes*, if that fortune, who as shee alwayes fauored *Selym*, so shee eniemy like, and sharply persecuted *Tomumbey*, had not defeated the painefull endenors of the *Mamaluches*, through the perfidiousnesse of a fewe persons.

There were in the Sultans armie foure *Mamaluches*, *Albanoyes* bozne, who did greatly stomack it, that *Tomumbey* was sul soze against their will, aduanced vnto the royall seate, by the voices
of the

of the aduerse faction. They, whether impelled by lewdnesse of disposition, or adduced by hope of rewards and more liberall entertainment, bicause they thought that nolue seeyng their owne side went to wracke, it were wisdome for them to sieke new and more certaine friendes, fled vnto *Synambassa*, as vnto the chiefeest Turkish captain, and their countreyman. By these horsemen *Synambassa*, and incontinently after *Selym*, vnderstood all the counsels and intents of the enemies, and how great an ambushe *Tomumbe*y had layde for them with singular suttletie and arte, into whiche they must needes fall, vnlesse they did forsake the high and direct waye. Wherupon they being guided by the same fugitiues, dyd fetch a great compasse about on the left hand, and before it was day came again into their old way, and with aranged battels, and produced ordinaunce (that there might be no stay to attach the fight) shewed themselves at the backs of their enemies, apoiding y front of their campe. When *Tomumbe*y sawe this, he coniectured by the marche of his enemies, that his Ambushe had bene disclosed thorough the treason of his owne men. But although he were tormented with incomparable grief of minde, for that al those thinges which he had done with the tople of so many men, and wyth so great endeuor, was quite dashed, and caide awaye in one moment of tyme by spitefull fortune: yet neuerthelesse, as he was a very stout man, he incontinently reuoked al his senses vnto counsel & wanted valor, & calling vnto him al the captains, speedily told them what he wold haue to be done. *Tomumbe*y being placed in so great straight of things, must doe all things at one time: he must giue the signali vnto the souldiours, wherby they were willed to mount on horseback, & to take their weapons, to turn the order of his cape, to arange his battels, to encourage his souldiours, & to translate his ordinaunce into contrary quarters, as y case did require. Al which thinges, as one chieftain could not do alone, but hardly and confusedly, so were they hastily & to halves and pecterly administered at one pushe, by many. But the thing that did mosse hinder the speedye doing of all thinges, was the huddlyng toggyther of all menne for to remoue the ordynaunce, the mosse of whiche were yll fauoured and houghe pectes made of yron,

The Battell of Rhodania.

and sette in greate stocks of wodde, wpyth rings of yron after the rude and nauall woꝝkemanſhippe vſed in olde time: they by reaſon of their mighty waighte coulde not be moued out of their places, without the draught of many beaſtes, and greate thruſting and heauing with yron crows and leuers, and with the græuous labour of men. But the greate pæces that were mounted on wheeles, being drawen by the witteſſe & haſting multitude with the great clamor of thoſe that pulld, haled and ſhouted throughout all partes of the Campe, did with their tumultuous paſſage diſorder thoſe that were mounting on their hoſes, and the ſouldiours that were repairing vnto the enſignes. But two things were a great helpe vnto thoſe difficulties, that is to wit, the cherefulneſſe of the ſouldiours, and the ſingular conſtancie of them all farre greater than a man would beleene: for that they had not by any conceyued feare, fallen from their hope and harts, as it commonly hapneth in ſodaine chaunces, in whome, yea the olde ſouldiours, doe oftentymes forget their olde valour: but being twice vanquiſhed in battayle, they had alwayes reſumed greater confidence and courage than they had befoze, bycauſe they perſwaded themſelues, that not valour and ſaill in fighte, but only fortune ſapled them. Therfoze when *Tomumbey* had ſet his men in array, and the ſouldiours with hote deſire of fight, had requested the ſignall, he commaunded all the multitude of the *Arabians*, to fetch aboute their wings on the backe of their enimies, and to attache the fight firſte, ſo that the *Turkiſhe* hoſemen might be troubled and diſordered, with a doubtfull daunger of fight, befoze that hee himſelfe had run ſoꝝth with his induced troupes. Straightwaie he comaunded the great ordinance which had bene now brought about, and directed againſt the enimies, to be ſhot off. And incontinently did the *Turkes* the ſame: who hadde once ſhot of theyꝝ ſmaller & greater pæces, when they were a iuſte diſtance of, and quickly charging them agayne, had now drawen them within an arrowes ſhote of the *Egyptian* ordinance: they foughte a long tyme on epyther ſide with only often ſhotting off of their ordinance, while that the armieſs approached. In the which cõtention, almoſt all the *Egyptian* gunners were ſlayne, and moſt of their artillerye

re dismounted from their wheeles, and broken into pices by the violence of the pellets of their enimies. For the *Turke* had very skillfull Gunners in his campe, whom he had allured by his great rewards, and riche entertainment out of *Italie* and *Germanie*, and specially manie oute of that filthie rable of *Iewes*, who being expelled by the pietie of king *Ferdinand* out of al the *Spanes*, brought afterward such rare vnbled and deadly artes into all the *Orient*, to spite our men withall. The capitaine of all these Gunners was one *James*, borne at *Reggio* in *Limbardie*, a man of passing skill in these artes: who being enticed by the *Turkische* gifts, had a little before forsaken the service of *Christ*, and reuoluted vnto *Pa-honets* superstition. But after the fight is on both sides brought vnto handestrokes, the *Mamaluches* raise a cruell and hezrible cry, and in thre quarters charge the *Turkes* with great valor: for *Selym* keeping his olde order, so marched, that he approached in the forme of a crosant. The Captain of the *Asians* in the right wyng, was *Mustaphas*, and *Innubassa* of the *Europeans* in the left: but he himself gouerned the middle battell, wherein was the Esquadron of the *Ianizars*, with a great multitude of ordinance. But *Synambassa*, being made generall of the fiede, had chosen for himselfe a certayne battell or bande of the mosse valiantest hoysmen, taken and picked out of all the companies, for to serue for al vncertaine euent of the battell. Vnto whom he added out of *Selyms* esquadron five hundred footmen of passyng prowesse and swiftnesse, that he being ready in all places of the battell for all chaunces (were they neuer so suddain,) might succour that parte of his fellowes, whiche was most pressed by his enimie. So that when almost at one time *Tomumbey* had stode in the middle battell against *Selym*, and the wings of the *Mamaluches* had encountred the *Turkische* with equall fronte, and the *Arabians* had fought valiantly at their backes, as they had bene commaunded foure fights were hotly attached at one tyme in diuers places.

They that were present at this battell, do report, that through the cry of the *Souldiours*, the noise of the *Drummes* and trumpets, the thundring of the artillerie, the cloude of the dust, and the clashing of the weapons, all mens mindes were so amazed and con-

Ded, that they beeing all on bothe sides alpeke, blinded with furie, they rushed forth wth madde desperatnesse, in suche sorte, that neyther coulde the voyces and watche wordes be discerned and knowne one from an other, nor the ensignes seene, nor the commaundements of the captains heard: they by mutual error slew a great number both of their owne felowes, and also their enemies without all regard: for neuer before that daye had any armies encountred togyther inflamed with greater hatred, neuer had two most mightie Emperors more constantly and feruently shewed their valor of bodie and hart with lesse care of life and safetie: for when both of them manifestly perceiued & sawe, that with like daunger of themselves and their armies, they had set their liues and empires at fire and seuen, they also vnderstode that there woulde be no other hope left vnto eyther of them, but that which the victorie it selfe would bring.

Now *Gazelles* enkindled with desyre of honour and reuenge, that he myghte repaie vnto the *Europeans* a foyle equal vnto that whiche he had receiued at *Gaza*, charging *Innubassa* with greates violence, had ouerrunne the foremost & the resisting troupes, had throwne downe the *Guidons* and the *Arabians* preassing on the victors at their backs, had made the vanquishing companies of all warres, where the strength of the *Thracians*, the *Thessalians*, and the *Macedons* were, to turne their backs, whiche neuer any enemye had seene before: Then *Synambassi* being redy and intentife both with mynde and strength for al occasion of victory, slew vpon the side of the enemies with a fresh and strong companie of his men, and repaired the battaile which was inclined and souly scattered. But anone after, *Synambassi* who had discontinued the manifest victorie of the enemies, by exercising a supreme deed of prowesse, was slayn verie valiantly, fighting before his men, after that the *Mamelukes* vnder their fierce captain *Bido*, had turned themselves on their new enemye. And also his horsemen endeouoring to take vp from the ground their dead captain, and to saue him, were for a great part slayn & put to flight by *Gazelles*, who did spread abrode his troupes, that they hauing more roome, might more freely vs their swords, in which kind of fight, the *Mamelukes* do most excellently
and

and also that noble band of *Janizars* being enclosed, were ouerrun and slain, after \hat{y} they being forsake of the horsemen, had long time very valiantly resisted. But in another quarter, *Mustapha* giving a vehement charge with all his horsemen, vpon the left wing of the Egyptians, wherein commaunded the most renowned captaines *Neylins*, *Diaderius*, and *Giapal Oresman*, very sharply baged the. They had a little before receyued a notable detriment by the ordinance which was by chaunce shot from *Selym* middle battell traucers the fielde. *Mustapha* perceyuing it, and being very desirous to abolish alde ignominy, very sharply baged the being once disordered, and bzinging in his troupes by wedges, brake thorough, ouerranne and beate them dolune, and being notorinous all the battell ouer for his voice and armour adhorted the *Asians* to thinke that they must now recouer eyther by passing prowesse, or honorable death their auntient marttall honor, the whiche they had lately losse at the battell of *Alepo*. Also at the same time *Tomambe* haung broken through the middle battell of the horsemen, was come vnto the footmen, and as he was a mightie man both in body and strength, did many notable actes with his semitarre: and also the *Arabians* enclosed the outer wings of the *Turkes*, and forced them in many places to fight with double front: when *Selym* aduanced forward his esquadron of footemen, the whiche was hys onely and assured helpe in this extremitie, whose charge neyther coulde the fierce and barded horses, nor the victors rich abide: for part of his soul-dours being harquebussers, did much mischief when they were impaled with pikes, whose immouable force beyng closed together into the array of one body, bare downe all that they encountered. Yet they fought with variable enent on both sides, from the fourth houre of the day, vntill Sonne sette, neyther was there any part of the armies, which suffered not sundry alterations, fortune being now prosperous, & then aduerse: for both the vanquished, & the victors being made mad with mutuall and implacable rage, fought with obstinate harts: the *Mamelukes* disdaining that the victory shold be taken from them by those men of whome they had slaine so many, but the *Turkes* chafing that they whome they had before vanquished in two battells, did so long time resist them:

in so much, that yet the languishing armes, and the bodies wearyd and tyred with woundes, which were held vp by only wrath and pertinacie of heart, might seme would haue bin able to haue continued an other day in murdering, if that the very night had not brought an ende vnto so great a slaughter.

Tornumbe, who no doubt was vanquished, distrusting the entler losse of the feld, first commanded the retreat to be sounded, that his men, who now could not matche the esquadron, myghte seme not to haue bene beafen back, but ledde backe: The which thing he thought was of very great moment to establish the hartes of his souldiours, and also to reteyn his owne authoritte: for that same dame fortune, who had deceyued his first hope, did seme to promise vnto him, (who hoped, as me in miserie do) for better lot, prosperous enents of things, if that his heart quayled not, and he sayng that power whiche was yet leste, would repaire the warres. The battell being broken off, by the coming of the night, the *Turkes* who were victors, and had gained the ordynance and tentes of the enimies, pursued vntill it was late nights, the *Mamaluches* that marched to *Caire* almost in fleeing manner.

In the flight were taken *Biadarius*, who could make no speede, by reason of his greuous wounds, and with him *Bidon*, who had one of his knees broken with the shotte of a falcon, whiche dyd also kill his horse. The next day *Selym* commaunded both of them to be slayne, either bycause they coulde not be healed, or for that it was decent, that he myght with so worthie sacrifices appease the spirite of *Synambassa*, for whom he singularly lamented. Although the *Turks* had nobly vanquished, yet was their power vehemently decayed, yea through these fortunate battells. The fourth parte of them was quite spent with sicknesse and woundes: and also a great number of their horses were brought weake, through the toyle of the long iourney, and specially by the wearinesse of this day. For the which causes, *Selym* was constrained to reuolt somewhat of his olde manner in halting: for he knewe not as yet the mynnes and detrotion of the *Aegyptians* that inhabited *Cair*, neyther did he yet vnderstande by fame, in what place *Tornumbe* sojourned, and what he intended to do. But before he had maturely
and

The Battell of Rhodania.

137

and diligently learned out all these things, hee in no case minded to commit the safety of his owne person, and of his whole armye vnto the innumerable Citizens, & the greatest Citie of the whole world. Wherefore staying foure dayes in his olde Campe at *Rhodania*, he caused the wounded to be cured, and the bodies of his slain souldiours to be buried in the ground, but left the carkasses of the enemies to be torne into peeces by byrdes and beastes. And then hee dislodged, and marching towarde *Caire*, encamped in a plaine betwene olde *Caire* and *Bulach* (for the Citie of *Caire* is diuided into thre towne: olde *Caire*, new *Caire*, and *Bulach*) that they might be the more commodiously serued of water.

The Battell at Caire.



P the meane tyme *Tomumbey* beyng nothing broken with so many and so lamentable vnfortunate successes of things, but gathering together the *Mamaluches* from all partes, had pitched his campe in a commodious place betwene newe *Caire*, and the riuer of *Nilus*, had armed an eight thousande *Aethiopian* bondmen, the whyche kind of men he had not used before by reason of the memorie of an olde rebellion. Moreover, he opening the olde armoury, had delivered armour and weapons vnto the sonnes of the *Mamaluches*, and the *Moores* their retyners, the *Iewes*, and the *Arabians*, & with all diligence had prepared greater and more cruell wars against the *Turkes*, than he had made before. But afterwarde when his devise to giue a camisado vnto the *Turkische* campe, had bene disclosed vnto the *Turkes*, who beyng prepared therefore, had with losse repelled his foremoste ranks: hee by the adhortation of all his captains entered the citie of *Caire*, for the *Mamaluches* being vanquished in all battells, thought that they muste take another way in administering the warres, and therefore counselled him to strengthen the Citie, by placing his army in guard in the most commodious places thereof, and to impeache the enemy from entering the towne: for in this lamentable state, seeing that they must needs

II.

fight

fight for their houses, wiues & children, they thought it honorable & correspondent to the glory of their antient valor, to dye fighting in the sight of them, & before the doores of their houses. So euery horseman, or *Mamaluch*, going to his owne house, furnished all his household, and the toppe of his house with all kinde of weapons, and euery one supplicantly desired the *Aegyptians* of his create and warde, that they would take armes against the common and cruell enimies, nor suffer them selues to be slayne, and their wiues and children to be carried away for slaues: for if the sauage and mosse couetous enemy should win the victoꝝy, (which God forbidde) they would not spare, no not them, yea though they would beare them selues indifferent, and heape neyther the one parte nor the other, because that victoꝝy being fraught full of licentiousnesse and insolencie, will knowe no man, but hym, that without staggering and doubting what to do, did helpe with goodes and hand the fortune of their parte, while that the warres were of vncertaine euent. Mosse of the richer sorte of the *Aegyptians*, as they did forsee that the alteration of the state and of the Empire, would be very hurtful, and bring greate losse and hinderance vnto their traffique and wealth: so in deuotion and heape they failed not vnto the *Mamaluchs*. Contrariwise mosse of the meane sorte of the Citizens, and a mightye multitude of the worser, who being boide of danger, do alwayes gain by other mens losses, remembꝝing all the villanies and extreame oppressions that they hadde suffered almoste three hundred yeares vnder the *Mamaluchs* in wailefull and wretched slavery, kept themselves within the doores, waiting for the euent of the supream fight, and reioyced in their slauerie, that not without the care of almighty God a tyme had come, when their wicked and outrageous lords should be punished for so many heynous facts, yea and the reuenge should be sought by the blood of strangers: whereby it wold come to passe, that they should anone fully satisfy their eyes with a most desired and wished spectacle and sight. In the meane tyme *Tomim-bey* with most intentife labor and trauell, fortified the gates, and all the wayes into the Citie, appointed Capitaines ouer euery create, made adhortatoꝝie orations in euery court, market place, and assemble of people: suffered not any light loytering to be v

sed in the woorks, and finally, (whiche is thought to be the moste hardest thing in calamitie, and danger) shewed a surpassing great hope, and a renewed and singular valor in his vnappalled face and countenance. But the *Mamaluches* over and aboue necessitie, (the whiche doe vse in extremities to enkindle and to make mad and desperate, yea the very cowards) being stirred vp by emulation, did speedily and courageously execute the duties and offices of Captaines, for euery one of them, as his witte, inuention and industrie did bear, made ditches crosse the most notorious streets, and also laid mighty greates peeces of timber ouerthwart them: other did set in priuite pits, holes, and ditches very sharpe stakes, vpon whom the enimies vnwailely falling might be gozed: other furnished with gunnes according to their stoze, the windows and houses that stood in the turning of the streets, y^e wer much frequented. Al which things werre don with so great celeritie, y^e no man no not y^e iopliest felow of all the *Mamaluchs*, made cortesie to take the spade, or to do any seruile or foule woork: so y^e all things seemed not to haue bin deuised befoze they were don & finished. Although the citie bring very great & very old, was enclosed with no walls, yet there were gates, & but certain ways into it, of whom the one with direct and very broade way or strete did lead from the East gate vnto the Castell, and into the middes of the Citie. The rest of the ways into the Citie had very narrow pathes, and ill sanded streates, in whome the ordinaunce could not be well and aptly drawen, neyther coulde aranged battells safely ioyne togither. Into this place and way had *Tomümbey* chiefly brought a power, bycause he vnderstood that of necessitie the enimic must breake in at that place by reason of the wydenesse of the streets, but the other quarters of the citie farther off, he kept with small gards: but the inner and middle parts of the citie, where the castel stood: were guarded with a very strong part of his power, y^e they being very intentiue, might speedily run with succor to al places of the citie, where y^e the cry of the enimies, & the perill of their fellows did call the, because that the citie being of al other the gretest, could not be defended round about the outward compasse with so small power, namely wayes lying open into it in euery place. But when *Selym* certainly knew that *Tomümbey* was entred Caire, and al the *Mamaluch*

The Battell of Caire.

ches gathering their strength into one, wold try the vttermost fortune of the wars, he ad-moued his host more neare vnto the Citie, and ad-hozted his souldiours to thinke that they must that day entirely vanquish, and quite destroy their euimies, whom they had so often overcome, and to take a little paine more, that they might receive the rewarde of their former labours and victories: the which would be so many, and so greates, as they had before coueted with immoderate mindes: that there remained a few men wth the forsaken and naked king, who bycause they beyng attached with woundes and feare, were not able to abide the fieelde, had decreed to expect at home in the sight and armes of their wiues, and children, the supream and laste caste of wretched life. That the *Aegyptians* of their owne accorde had sent for him, for they deadly hating the name of the *Mamelukes*, did moste greedily expect their destruction, and did promise to fight from their houses for to destroye that progenie of moste wicked and sauage men. But yet notwithstanding, that the very absolute victory of the whole wars consisted in the vterly vanquishing of the remnantes of the defeated and thzoughly affrighted army: bycause they could not be accompted overcome, that yet hoped were yet in armes, and possessed the siege of the Empire, and the greatest Citie thereof. Therfore they should think, that whereas their safety and glory, then also their whole state and welfare did consist in the event of that day. But that it woulde be a thing almost of nought, and of no daunger, if that they woulde persuaide themselves that they must needs vanquish in this newe kinde of fight, as they hadde valiantly done before vnder his condauct in all other. The souldiours heartes burned for desire of spoile, and being ready and deduced into ranks, expected the signall of the irruption: When *Solyman* entring the Citie at *Basswell* gate, sent in his horsemen at many places at once, but the *lanizars* at the broader way: horsemen met with horsemen, and attached a cruell fight in the turnings of streets, and narrow lanes, but the footemen drawing forth their falcons and culuerings before them in their front, did flank with them all the streets, along as they wente, making them naked of defendants. But when they were come vnto the munitions and
ditches

The Battell of Caire.

141

ditches, and went about to remoue the logs, and greate beames that lay in their waye, and to passe the ditches : and on the other side the *Mamaluches* valiauntly obliſſed, they fought on both ſides with ſo greate valor, and ſo great pertinacie of harts, that neuer none in our memozy encountred either moze fiercely or moze bloudily, for both the *Mamaluchs* & the *Turkes* ſhewed all their ſtrength, and all their ſleights of warre, in this one daungerous fight, not being ignorant that they fought in this laſt encounter for life and Empire : ſeing that ſporting fortune did ſet indifferently beſore them both ſupreame rewardes for the victors, and extreme puniſhments for the vanquiſhed. Very greate ſlaughter was committed at the munitions, by reaſon that the *Turkes* vnwarly running into the blinde and priue ditches, pits and holes fell downe into them by heapes, one vpon another, the hindermoſt thruſting them forwarde that were beſore : and other were gozed on the ſharpe ſtokes. The *Mamaluches* their wines and children did with manlike hardineſſe hurle and tumble down tiles and great ſtones on them that were beneath. On the other ſide, the *Turkes* woulde wyth their harquebuſſes ſetche ſuche off as they coulde ſee in the windowes, and on the houſes, and breake open the doores where they ſaw any hurtfull thing hurled downe, and fight wythin the houſes wyth diuers euent. Alſo the *Aegyptians* beholding the fortune now of the one ſide, and then of the other, did with diuers deuotion take for enimies and aſſaile them both, that vnto whether of them lot would giue the victory, they might ſerue alſo to haue greatly aided that partie. Many encounters were attached in diuers quarters at once, as they ranne into diuers ſtreates, yea and in ſundry partes of one ſtreate, now this company, now that ſighted vpon new troups of the enimies, & they that vrged the victors in the front, were often intercluded by the enimies, & were beaten down behind. The ways, and the ſpace that were left betweene houſe and houſe, were (an horrible thing to behold,) ſo wet of the goze bloude that ranne oute of the ſlaime men that laye in heapes euery ſote, that the raiſed duſt, whyche at the beginning was very thicke, was now quite layd. Yet neuertheleſſe the aire was darkened wyth the ſmoke and miſſe of the gunnes, and the

cloudes of arrowes, and so greate was the crie of the souldiours, the clashing of the weapons, the thundering of the ordinaunce, that the earth seemed to tremble and quake, and the houses to bee tozne into peces. They fought continually two days, and so many nights with doubtfull fortune: but yet so that the *Mamaluches* who being fewe in number, & were not able to sustain the labour and watching, had withdrawen themselves by giving backe by little and little into the inner partes of the Citie, forsaking the foremost munitions. The third day when the *Mamaluches* were in the very pitch of the perill of all their whole state, and all that ener they had (which thing is wont to augment the supreme enterprises, endencours and hartes of all men) they renued the fight wpth such surpassing valor, that they drove the *Turks* a great way backe and intercepted certaine of their falcons. Which chaunce, they sawe, made *Selym* to dispaire of the victorie, and then he commaunded the houses to be set on fire in all places, he being also impelled vnto that heinous and cruell proclamation almoste by inske wrath conceived against the *Aegyptians*, because that a little before *Iannusbassa* had bin grievously wounded in the heade in *Selyms* sight with a stone throwen out at a windowe. Now were the houses light on fire, now was heard the howling of the wailing and suppliantly entreating *Aegyptians*, and now the *Turkes* fighting somewhat faintly, expected that the retraite shoulde bee sounded: When see, newes was brought by many men at once, that in another quarter the *Mamaluches* being beaten from their ground, and defeated by beating *Mustaphas*, had reposed their laste refuge in running away: for *Mustaphas* through the intimation of certaine *Aegyptians*, and fugitive *Mamaluches*, had come vnto a very large streete, where the *Mamaluches* had sette their horses ready bridled and saddled: that if any ill chaunce happened, they might haue recourse thither, and taking their horses, flee vnto those nexte places whither they had determined to go. He got all those horses and ledde them away, hauing chased their garde, the which, as in a parte of the Citie, that they did nothing suspect, was very weake, consisting wholly of boyes, and horse keepers. This thing (as it commonly happeneth in waigthy and vnlooked for chaunces) did maruel.

maruellously wraken their valour and impession. Wherefore when hope of flight was taken awaye, and they perceyued them selues to be enclosed rounde aboute, and that the fight was sustained by none other hope, and by none other helpe and aide, than prowesse, they being vanquished by their own confusion, turned their backs. Many hastning vnto Nilus with *Tomumbey*, who had in vaine tried all artes of valiauncy, wisdome and deuise, that he might not be vanquished in this battell, passing ouer the riuer by boate, wente into the region of *Serica*. Another multitude hidde themselves in the houses of the *Aegyptians*, and in moste shameful lurking denues. But aboute a thousande and five hundredth of the valiauntest of the *Mamelukes* fledde vnto the greatest Temple in all the Citie, where after that they hadde long time defended them selues, as oute of a Castell, because they woulde not yelde but vpon honourable cenditions: at the lasse beyng vanquished by thirste, wearinesse, woundes, and ordinaunce, they yelded themselves vnto the will and pleasure of the victor. A part of them were slaine presentlye before the Church by the angrie Souldiours: *Selym* winking thereat, and parte were certaine dayes after caried downe the Riuer to *Alexandria*. When the victoey enclined, *Selym* sent two bandes to put out the fires, and also sending aboute cryers throughout all the Citie, caused proclamation to be made, that all the *Mamelukes* that would come in, and yelde them selues, within twelue houres should haue no hurt, but all sound after that time, should die for it, and also that he woulde giue rewarde vnto all those *Aegyptians* that woulde disclose the *Mamelukes* that lurked, and contrariwise incontinently sicke them that had hidden any: and selling their wiues and children, burne their houses. Vpon the brute of this proclamation, a great number of them came abroad, who were straightway put in prens and also after ward all moste cruelly slaine in prison for that they were said to haue practised an escape. But diuers that wold not violate the rights of friendship and faith by betraying their frends, being accused by their neighbours, suffered losse of life, dying very constantly for their friends.

After this, the souldiours beyng made fierce thzough the victoey,
searched

The Battell of Nilus.

searched all places, drewe out all them that were hidden, and slew them, and also spoyled the *Aegyptians* their houses, and lefte nothing shut and secrete. The very same day *Gazelles* happened to come vnto *Caire*, who had been sent a litle before into *Theban* to leaue up *Arabsians*, and to hye aides. When hee seeing the state to bee quite euerted, and that hee was able to do no good, eyther by hand or counsell, came in with thye *Arabian* Capitaynes, and many horsemen, and yelded himselfe vnto *selym*, who entertained hym with all his traine very honourably, euery man according to hys calling.

The Battell at Nilus.



At *Tomumbe* being (as ye haue hearde) fledde ouer the riuer of *Nilus*, into that region that is called *Seiectica*, which lyeth towards *Cyrenaiica*: although he had bene vanquished with so many mischiefes, yet he courageously repaired the wars. There had come vnto him a strong crue of *Mamaluches* from *Alexandria*, who were sent for by letters out of the garrison of the Citie, and many also folowed hym in the flight. Moreover the *Arabians* of *Africa* repaired vnto hym: and also the *Moores* the inhabitants of that country, promised hym their good will and healpe: yea and sundry *Aegyptians* of *Caire*, whose houses and households had bene spoyled, and dishonested by the couetous and lecherous *Turks*, promised that they would raise an insurrection and tumult, if that he would speedily come thither one night: that it shold be brought to passe that all the *Turkes* which were lodged in the houses of the Citie, shoulde be sodainely destroyed by the crue, and inuasion of all the whole people: for the Citizens hauing suffered at their handes, all abhominable and enemy like partes, coulde not longer abide the iniuries of the most proude and malaperte oppressers. They also said, that the *Turks* were brought from a very mighty armye vnto a contemptible number, for a great parte of them were

were slain in the battells at *Rhadania* and *Cure*, and almoste all the rest were quite spent with woundes and sicknesses. But whilst that *Tomumbe* was busied about the preparation of these things, *Albuchemar* the greatest man in all *Serdica* for authority, landes and riches, came vnto *Selym*: epyther that he might auert from his countrey, and landes, the mischief of vniuersent warres, or else to winne the victors fauor by treason, and certified him of the power, and new deuises of *Tomumbe* and the citizens of *Care*. The which when *Selym* vnderstood, he caused strong and straight watche and warde to be kept in all partes of the Citie, he commaunded the suspected Citizens to be kept in the castel, the which he hadde easely taken (the garison forsaking it) and placed in diuers places all along the riuer of *Nilus*, a greate number of vessels furnished wth Ordnance and soldiers for to watche and keepe the farther bankes of the riuer. But yet he was fighting with himselfe with how greate perill he had fought so often with his most valiant ten thousand, and how harder a thing it woulde be for him to intercept *Tomumbe*, who by fleeing into wasse and vnknowen regions prolonged the warres, and shall gotte newe and new aides, and also considering that his power being so small and so far from succour, might be easely oppressed in that most mighty Citie by the huge multitude of men of vncertaine faith: was desirous rather to ende the warres by composition, than by contending with force to entangle himselfe in new dangers: and especially seeing that he had intelligence by those of the province of *Serdica*; that companies of horsemen of all sortes were lent in all partes by the *Amaluches* that had fledde into diuers regions and that the nauie which had bin sent into the straightes of the reddie sea in the *Arabian* golfe against the *Portugals*, was looked for at *Port Suez*. In that nauie were aboute three thousand *Amaluches*, and *Amyrasses*, an *Ray Salomon* very skilful Captains, and a great number of brasse peeces: wherby it seemed *Tomumbe* might be able to repaire the receued incomodities, & come againe vnto the Citie, being sent for by his friends to repaire thither. But the mightie care of the *Persian* affaires did most moue him, least that if *Hymbrassa*, whom he had sent before vnto the mountain *Taurus*, shuld

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not be

not be able to matche the *Persian* power, that then he should be excluded out of *Asia* the lesse, and *Syria*, before that the *Constantinopolitan* fleet could come to *Alexandria* with supply of souldiours and victuals. Wherefore he sent very honorable men of the clergie, and also among them, certain *Egyptians* of great estimation in ambassade vnto *Tomumbey*: who should counsell hym to laye down armes, and at length acknowledge the fortune of the victor, and therewith should also giue their faith, that if he would come in supplicant sorte vnto *Selym*, he should by the humanitie and benefite of the victor and conquerour, obtaine the kingdom, the which he had not been able to kepe by armes: but if he would proceede in renewing the warres, and forget his owne weaknesse, that then after the fortune of the wars were throgly adiudged & determined, he should according vnto his desert, find no condition of dignity & life at any *Selym* hand. But when these ambassadors were come into *Stathis*, they were with wanton and barbarous cruelty, slaine by certain *Amaliches*, before they had any audience.

The which proude and cruel fact, brake off al *Selyms* patience, who was a man by nature yea being not moued, very bedement & fierce: & straightway he proclaimed a boiage into *Sciellia* against *Tomumbey*, & commanded victuals to be provided therfore & gathering together boats from al parts caused a sure & very broad bridge to be built ouer the river of *Nilus*, thinking it neither for his dignitie, nor for the present occasion to passe ouer in boates.

But when *Tomumbey* vnderstode by espies and the Citizens of *Carr*, that a boiage was prepared against him, and a bridge made ouer *Nilus*, he fearing the faithlesse of the *Provincials*, whose heartes, he lightly suspected were alienated from hym, by the reuolting of *Albuchemar*, because of his greates power and authoritie among them: determined to trye the selfe same fortune of battell, whiche hadde so often tymes deuyed his hopes: for he being inferiour in all thinges, could not walwe smoth the warres, nor expecte his enime: neyther did he thinke it good for him to flee agayne wth losse of his dignitie, through farther wildernesses.

Wherefore consulting with his Captaines, (the which was the last attempt that he and the *Mamelukes* made) he departing in the breake of the daye from *Sieetica* with foure thousand armed horsemen or *Mamelukes*, and double the number of *Mores*, and *Arabians*, hastied to *Nilus* with iorney continued day and night that by hardy attempt he might deceaue the *Turkes*, who he understood would suspect no such thing of the vanquished, a very weak enemy, and also that he might by celeritie prevent the same of his approche: thinking that he shoulde by his suddaine vnlooked for coming, destroy that part of the *Turkish* power that had first passed the river, before that they coulde be succoured by their fellows. Neither did the space of the tyme deceiue his opinion: for the houres being very truly reckened with the celeritie of his march did agree iumpe: and as he had coniectured it would happen the forewarde of the *Asians* had passed over the bridge. The *Mullesters* and boyes that were of *Selyms* chamber ranging some what farre to take a more pleasaunt place to pitch their tent in, were the firste that sawe the dust of the approaching enemy: and *Mussapha* was straightwaye certified thereof, and a larum was given.

The which rumour did cast great feare into the heartes, both of them which had already passed over, and also of those that stode on the hither banke ready for to passe. *Tomumby* charging suddainly with great valor the *Asians*, while they were making themselves ready and resorting vnto the ensignes, slew the foremost that durst sustaine the shooke of the *Asiatiques*, dispersed other, and forced them to flee. Neither after that almost all the whole foreward was overrunne and troden downe, and the rest disordered was *Mussapha* able (although he fought scarcely in the fore front, and cheerfully encouraged his shouldrers) to repaire the array, or to retein the turned into flight: for in this cruell and vnexpected chaunge, euery place was full of huddling together of people, slaughter, flight, and feare, and all along on the banks of the river, both above and beneath the bridge, were companies of men seen looking behind them and crying for succor.

And many being dreyen by the hanging troupes of the *quintes*

unto the verie bynke of the bankes, fel downe into the riuer: and many also perished at the ende or head of the bydge, when they coulde not runne ouer it for them that were continually sente ouer from the further side: and also many that wold haue climed the bydge, being impeached by feare, and thrust back by their fellows were drowned in the riuer. The bydge was so broad, that fourshidies myght well goe ouer in a ranke, and a great number of them be sente ouer in an houres space. But because the ordinance was to be drawen ouer, fewe horsemen were sente, than the greatnesse of the daunger, or the suddaine chaunce dyd vrgently require: neither was there any helpe or ayde in the ordinance, whiche coulde not be speedily drawen ouer, or shatte off from the lyther bank into the other againe the infinite without great damage to themselves, by reason of their owne men that stode in the waye. In the meane tyme *Selym*, who had run downe unto the ryuer syde at the beginning of the hurly bushe, filled small boates with *lanizars* barquebusiers, and sent them ouer to succoure their distressed fellows, and also commaunded the horsemen to halke ouer by the bydge. The speedy Mariners being al celeritie, often returned, and toke sume, so that with in a short space they had set ouer manie bandes of *lanizars*. Whose coming, did confirm the *Asians*, who were disordered, and now hardly sustained their enemies violence.

Alsa Crang, the sonne of a *Tartare* King, encouraging his troups of *Tartares* to take the riuer with their horses, came to the farther bankes of the riuer, to the admiration of all men, leaueg but a fewe of his men for the *Tartares* had learned to swime ouer on their horses accustomed therunto, the verie violence and mightie riuers of *Tana* and *Volga*. Also at the same instant *Tamur*, for a long had space his troupe consisted therein endeouered to pierce with thicke troups unto the head of the bydge, and to assault: that then for to interclude his enemies, he might pull away the foremost boate, and cut in sonder the cables, with which that rowe of boates were tied vnto the bankes. Which being cut off, the whole bydge being of necessity resolued and vndon, wold through the violence of the mightie stream, be caried away with the

the *Turkes* that were vpon it. This caused a verie dangerous conflict, for the chosen and best armed *Mamalukes* that baged at the front, fought with singular valour: and on the other side *Mustapha* perceiving the danger, brought the ensignes, and all the valiantest felowes vnto that place. So that they bothe contended with suche surpasseing prowesse, as the waightnesse of the case required: the *Mamalukes* manifestly seing that if they could win y place, that then they shuld with short work afterward ouerthrow the former victories of the enimies: & the *Turkes* vnderstanding y vnlesse they kept and saved the bridge, the safetie of themselves, and the rest of the armie, yea and of their Emperoz was brought to utter dispaire. But *Mustapha* preuailed through the *Harquebussers*, and the troupes of *Greeke* horsemen, of whome nowe many had passed ouer, and the enimies were repulsd and being fiercely baged, forced to giue a great way back. *Tomumbe* that he might giue some space vnto the *Mamalukes* to breath them, who were not able to fight fiercely, bicause their horses were tyred, and that he might againe trie by them after they had repaired their strengthe, the extreme and last chaunce and fortune of the battell, abhorred the *Arabians* and *Moors* to susteine the fight vntill the *Mamalukes* had a little breathed themselves. The which when they had valiantly performed, and anone after the *Mamalukes* hauing somewhat recreated their horses and bodies, hadde come in their place: the battell was againe renewed with so great valour, that *Selym* distrusting the victorie, doubted not to ascend the bridge, and runne to succour his men, although that his friends earnestly besoughte him in no wise so to doe. His coming (which brought hope into the hearts of the souldiours, who desired to winne rewards and prayse by doing some notable feate of prowesse in their Emperours fight) repressed the endeuors of the enimies, who were straightway all forced to fye through the balliance of the *Janizars*. They were pursued ouer all y fields by those horsemen that had not bene at the fight, and also by the *Tartars*, who galled them with their arrows. But afterwarde *Mustapha*, *Cayerbey*, and *Gazelles*, were sente wyth a company of freche and swift horses, to follow the scote of the fleying, and not to suffer *T-*

The Battell of Nilus.

Tomumby to escape away, whome the thirde day after, certaine *De-
sautes* founde standing in a marish vppe to the waste in water
among bulrushes and reeds, who for feare of death deliuered him
to the Capitaynes, who brought them vnto *Selym*, But he woule
not boughsafe to see him. But after he had caused him to be a long
tyme tormented in vaine for to disclose the treasures of *Campson*,
at laste he commaunded hym to be carped aboute all the famous
treasures of the Citie on a vile Camell in an olde ragged garment,
with his hands bounde behinde hym, and then to be hanged vppe
wyth an halter, for the murthering, as he pretended, of his Am-
bassadors, although the noble Prince were altogether guiltlesse
therof. The like fate also befell vnto al the *Mahaduchos* and hoysen
men that were in prison, or coulde be taken. After the shamefull
death of *Tomumby*, who was executed the thirtieth day of Aprill,
in Anno. 1517. all the whole Empire of the Sultan yielded, as also
did all the Princes that had bene *Tribunes* vnto the Sultan euen
vnto the dominions of *Prestre John*.

¶ The Battell of *Bicon*, foughte in the
Dutchy of Milan betuene *Prospero de Co-
lona*, and *Ferdinande* Marques of *Pescara*, Generals for *Charles*
the Emperour, and the Lorde *Lantrech* Chiefe in for *Francis*
the French King in Anno. 1522. taken out of *Ionis* in the
life of the Marques of *Pescara*.



Anno. 1521. *Charles* the first Emperour of
Rome, and *Leo* the tenth Bishop of that
citie, conspired together (for displeasure
conceined) to expell *Francis* the French
king out of the Dutchy of *Milan*, and to
place therein *Francis Forza* brother vnto
Maximilian, late duke of *Milan*, but then
prisoner in *France*. The which exploite
Prospero de Colonna, and *Ferdinande* Mar-
ques of *Pescara*, the one being Generall of the hoysmen, & the o-
ther

ther of the footemen, did in parte purchase that same yeare, ha-
 uing wonne *Placentia*, *Parma*, *Nouara*, *Alexandria*, *Cremo*, *Paria*, the
 Citie of *Milan*, and byuers other places of the dutchy, which cau-
 sed the French King to sende downe the nexte yeare, *René* the ba-
 skarde of *sanoy*, and greate maistr of his hoise, and *Seigneur de la*
Palice, and other wyth a newe supplie of souldiours, vnto the Lord
Laureoth his lieftenant general in *Milan*. With this power and the
 old that he had before, & also being aided with an army of the *Ve-*
netians, he laid sieg vnto the citie of *Paria*, the which yet he brake
 by, when the Emperials (who had lately receyued a newe supplie
 out of *Germany* of fiftethoulande *Lansquenetz* vnder the conduct
 of *George Frondsberg*) were come from *Milan* to *Creco*, *Paria*; and
 marched towardes *Londrino*, that hee might come to the Citie of
Milan as bolde of garrison, before the Emperials coulde returne,
 or if he could not so doe: he hoped some good oportunitie of bat-
 tle in place of aduantage woulde be gotten by often dislodgings
 and sundry tozneys. But *Proffers* and *Pescara* incontinently going
 backe againe the same direct way that they came, were at *Milan*
 many houres before that *Laureoth*, who marched somewhat about,
 coulde come thither, although he used passing celeritie. ¶ He *La-*
ureoth hauing thus missed *Milan*, marched to *Monza* for many re-
 gardes, and namely counsellled therevnto by *Gusti* the Legate or
Prouiditor of the *Venetian* armie, that he might be victualled with
 more easement of wayes from the Regions beyond the river of
Adda; and also the *Switzers* requested it, being desirous to goe
 home, as they that being wearied wyth the vnlucky watres, in
 whom fortune would fauour none of their enterprises: had lan-
 guished both in body and heart, and therefore wyth proud and
 leude tongues requested to be dismissed. But the *Wastarde* of *sa-*
noy, *Palice*, and *Galazzo*, *Sansouuerino* Grande Esquier, or maistr
 of the hoise vnto the King, going vnto the *Switzers* earnestly
 desired them that they woulde not haue to forsake them, and by
 their infamous departure quite overthrow the assured hope of
 ready victorie: saying that *Francis* of all things the most liberall,
 would requite this their singular benefite, not only by frank deny-
 ing wyth them selues, but also with their wiues and children.

Durck

The Battell of Bicoena.

Surely the Captaines and ensigne-bearers were very well affected, and very faithfull, but the common sorte of the souldiours, as they which were bounde by no gittes, did very leaſly waue: but yet ſo that it ſeemed that all of them would fight balliantly, if they were ſpeedily brought to battaine battell. When *Proſpero* and *Peſcara* vnderſtoode the entent of their enimies, they ſtaying almoſt neuer a while at *Milan*, endued their power wel furniſhed with all things, being fully reſolved to giue the enemy battell, if that any indifferent occaſion were offered. They encamped themſelues at a village called *Bicoena*: in a place very ſafe and commodious: ſo on the right ſide, it was enclosed with the ditch of the highway, but at the leaſt, and on the backe with two ſmall ri- uers ſeruing to water the corne fieldes, but in the front it hadde a croſſe way ſo broad, that two waies meeting might paſſe one by another, the which was on bothe ſides ſo lowe, that the edges of the corne fieldes were nauell high about it. This way ſo that it was very hollowe, did *Peſcara* uſe ſo a ditch, and in the front thereof placed the ordnance and footemen: and behinde ſtoode the horſemen with *Proſpero*. But *Francis Forze* the Duke of *Milan*, who had brought thither bandes of the Citie of *Milan*, and all the nobilitie of the whole duchie, that he might be preſent at the battell, encamped in the high way. Now the Captaines of the *Switzers* being ſingularly addicted to the French welfare, and honour, and namely *Albert Petra* a captaine of ſurpaſſing fame in many wars who had then the chiefe authoritie among the *Switzers*, as ſoon as news was brought by the horſemen, that the *Emperials* were encamped midle way betwene *Milan*, and *Monza*, and were in a plaine and leuell peece of ground not aboue five miles from them, they came vnto the French Captaines, and *Albert* ſpake vnto them and tolde them, that the souldiours coulde be kepte by no meanes but that they woulde goe home vneſſe they were ledde into the ſielde to fight: and that hee hym ſelfe might ſatiſſie the kings Maieſtie (who had very well deſerued of hym) and alſo the dignitie of the *Switzers*, was fully reſolved to giue battell: neither ought they to doubt of the victory, if that the Frenchmen (as they were by duty bound) wold wyth couragious hartes

and

The Battell of Bicocca.

153

folow the *Switzers*, who would pierce enen vnto the ordinance of the enimies: If that there were any that would rather linger shamefully, than fight valiauntly they ought not to bee thought faithfull to the king, or the commō wealth. Therfoze he, to shewe his fidelitie and vnfaigned hart vnto the *Byng*, would go against the enimies yea with onely the *Switzers*, if no man else woulde follow. This couragiousnesse of *Albert* was not displeasing vnto *Lautrech* as y man that had rather fight yea with doubfull enēt, than to be forsaken by the *Switzers*: for this was his opinion, that their hote valor, seeing that they did request the battell wyth such flaming heartes, was to be vsed out of hande, namely saying that he seemed inferiour to the enimies, neyther in footemen, horsemen nor yet in number: for he pruiely accompted it an ignompe, if that now, as it had happned the yeaere before, he shoulde againe be dyuen out of *Lumbardie*, and neuer fight battell, and namely saying that wheras the *Switzers*, then specially the french horsemen had alwayes in vaine requested of hym with many prayers, that they might shewe their valor in a pitched fiede: which thing (as it often happeneth in aduerse fortune) had gotte him greate enuy among the frenchmen. But *Palice* both grāuouly offended wyth the rashnesse and arrogancie of *Albert*, and also moued with the nothing tymely inclination of *Lautrech*, praysed in dede at large the good will and deuotion of the *Switzers*, but could in no case abide to heare the counsell of assaulting the Campe, as a deuice full of extream madnesse, and deadly desperatnesse: often saying that he, who had wared olde in the *Italian* warres, did very wel knowe the valor of young *Pescara*, who alwayes vseth to fight lustily and the artes of olde *Prospero*, who had learned to lodge his army skilfully to the discōmoditie of his enemy, & with his owne chieffest and highest praise. He did not thinke the french state was brought vnto that despaire, y as it were in extreme necessitie, they shoulde rather chole to fight and be vanquished, than by staying wyth very good and holesome resort moderate the violent fease of vnaduised corage. Therfoze what was moze safe and better, thā to get them betwene *Milan*, & the enimies camp, and encamping themselves there, force the enimies (being intercluded from the

citle, and victuals, either to fight with disadvantage, if that they would assault their Camp, or certes if they would returne unto Milan, to offer them the fildes in an indifferent place. In dede the Lord *Laurech*, who had the supream government, might fight with disadvantage both then, & also at al other tymes, when he wold: but it was the duty & part of a wise Generall, neuer to prouoke y enemy, vnlesse he hauing before surely shifted the risk, might with firme reason assuredly promise himselve vndoubted victorie. But then thus (answered the Lord *Laurech*) we neede not shouthful lingring in sitting still, but lyuely valour in fight to re- couer the honoꝝ and Duchy lost: the which doubtlesse can not be done, if we do suffer the *Switzers*, who are now going away, to depart home and do no feate of prowesse. Wherefore make your selues ready to fight, that we may this day ende the warres one way or an other. Therunto replied *Palice*: God assist the mad and desperate: I for my part, that I may not seem to haue shined the perill, will certes fight on foote in the forwarde of the footemen: yea French horsemen, behaue your selues to day valiantly, that in a hard case, rather fortune than courage, may seeme to haue sayled you. So before the Sun was vp (it was the .xxix. day of April) *Albert* leadeth forth his regiments of *Switzers* (they were about fiftene thousand) with the ordinance, being puffed vp with so foolishly, or certes fatal pride, that he would not one whit be ruled in any thing by either *Laurech*, or *Palice*, Captaines of greate skill, but wpyth barbarous statelynesse, promised that he would charge the Imperials full in the face. And without stay, the famous *Petro de Nauirro*, and the renowned Captaine *Bicarde*, being sente before to suruey the situation of the enemies Campe, *Laurech* made two battells of all the french horsemen, the first he committed to his brother the Lord *Lescune*, commaunding him to fetch a great compasse about, and to inuade the enemies on the backs, but he himselfe folowed the maine army. It was enioyned vnto the *Venetians*, who were on the left hand, to back the *Switzers*, beyng therby quite out of danger, or certes very far from any. Moreover *Iohn de Medici* was commaunded to goe before all the battelles wpyth hys horsemen, who were verie passing excellent

lent, consisting both of light horsemen, and also men of armes) and with the light bands of Italian footemen, who also served vnder him, that he courting this way and that way, might take all prospecte from the enimies, and not suffer their auantcurreers to take any vantage of the French power. So the footemen being hidden by Medices horsemen, approached with great pace, not being scene of the enimies, yet the foremost of Lescunes horsemen were (by reason of their glistering armour) scene of the Imperials betwene certaine trees vpon the lefte hand: but they did fetch suche a greate compasse about, that they seemed to be beyond the camp, and to march towardes Milan. In the meane time Pescara, (than whom, no man kept a more constant iudgemēt of mind in sodaine chaunce) commaunded Gastaldo to scout with a company of horsemen: he had not gone far, but that he met with Medici, and then their horsemen skirmished together very brauely, now one side, and then the other was beaten backe, and the losse shotte came also in among them: finally they were so blended together, that neither the one was suffered to haue any certaine knowledge of the appoche of the Switzers, nor the other of the situation and array of the enimies campe. The ordinance as I said, was oppositely placed in the front of the ditch, and the footemen were cast into foure battallions, but yet so with equall front, that Almains and Spaniards wer mingled together by course. The captain of the Almynes was George Frondesberg, a notorious man for his mightie body and strength: the harquebusiers standyng before the pikes, occupied all the whole length of the front: when Pescara commaunded by as new and witty, as afterwarde happy deuise, that they should not sette fire to their peeces before that they had scene volagues discharged at his commandement. But he willed the foremoste rankes, that after they had discharged, they should immediatly stoupe downe on their knees, and charge agayne that the seconde rankes might incontinently discharge without daunger of the foremoste; he also commaunded the seconde, and then the third, and so the fourth to do the same: so that when the last had discharged, the first and the second rankes should quickly and readily shote off agayne their recharged peeces.

So that this order being repeated incessantly, the footemen of the enimies myght be beaten down as it were wyth a continuall storme, befoze that they could come to hand strokes. Cuent wanted not to *Pescara* his deuise. For when the *Switzers* approached, the y first shooting off their great ordinaunce, as also the *Imperials* had done, ranne amaine vnto the ditch, suspecting nothing of the disaduantage of y place: Where all things were oportunely administred by *Pescara*, both wyth great quietnesse, and also celestie, and he did sodainely let flye a storme of small shotte, which did so much mischiefe, that not onely the ensignes, but whole bandes fel downe at once: yet *Albert* himselte lustily scaling the rampire slewe vnto *Frondesberg*, whom he knewe, and calling him by an opprobrious name, did with a mightie arme thrust his pike into his side, greuously wounding him: but *Albert* himselte was immediatly slaine, being stroken at from all partes round about. And also that bande of desperate fellows that succoured hym wyth franticke fease, were easily slaine by the *Almaines* and *Spaniards* from the vpper ground.

In this encounter *Alfonse* the Marques of *Guasto*, cousin germain to *Pescara*, was wounded in the arme. But the rest of the *Switzers* after they had bene a long time turmoiled and troubled among the heapes of the slain, and the piles of their pikes, turned their backs. Also at the same time *Lescune* bringing aboute his horsemen, doth giue a charge vpon the backes of the enimies, and passing ouer two ditches doth breake into the Campe. *Ambruse Landriano* the Captaine of the Dukes wing of horsemen, is defeated and taken prisoner, the tentes are caste downe, the hailes of *Antony de Lema*, and the Earle of *Termine*, and their siluer plate fall to the share of the lackeys and drudges. There is a wonderfull great hurly burly raised thzoughout the whole Campe, feare attacheth not onely the souldiours, but also the Captaines themselves, yet *Prospero* gets himself quickly out of the feare of this sodaine chaunce, and setteth his horsemen caste into troupes against the Frenchmen, *Adorno*, and the Earle of *Colla* valiantly helping him, & *Antony de Lema* running thither for most of al. Now *Lescune* fought vpon the widge with singular prowesse: which if he could haue

hane gotten, the French hoſtme had doubtleſſe broken in to commit a great ſlaughter of the Emperials: when ſee the dukes hoſtmen aduancing ſoſwarde their guidons from the high way, re- ceſued the encounter: alſo a bande of *Italians* Harquebuſiers ſpre- dily ranne vnto theyr ſuccour, and alſo the *Milaneſe*, that lay be- yond the riuer in a verie ſafe place, dyd ſhoote their ſielde pices ouerthwart vpon the enimies: *Fraunces Forza* the Duke was in that quarter a continual encourager: the fyght was diuers, and cruell, as that which was fought in a place very comberſome in all partes, not only ſo the ditches and deepe ſtreames, and ſmall riuers, but alſo ſo the ropes of the tents, and many long polles, that were ſet vp to tye the hoſſes vnto. But there was a verie ſharpe encounter at the brydge: ſo there *Leſcune* hymſelfe being noſorious ſo his Capariſſons, and plume of ſethers in his creſt, contended with great valour to breake through: whoſe prowelle the *Monſieurs Montmorency, Baiarde, and Pontremy*, very ſoſwarde Capitains, honozably emulated: and alſo *Frederike de Bozolo* one of the houſe of *Mandoa*, had pierced into the highe waye. but the iniquitie of the place did withſtande the prowelle of the French hoſſemen. For neyther were they able to breake through wyth ſhycke troupes, nor yet to defende themſelues, becauſe they had brought no ayd of ſotmen. So the Frenchme that fought on the brydge, after that many on both parties had ben caſt downe bryd- long into the Ryuer, wyth ſoule ſlaughter of men and hoſſes, were at length driuen from the brydge: *Leſcunes* horſe was ſlayne vnder hym, and anone after when he had taken an other, he was wounded in the mouth with a ſworde, whiche was thruſt thorough the beuer of his helmet, and *Monſieur Baccalure* the En- ſigne bearer of *Monſieur de Brion* was ſlayne, and *Hugh Earle of Popoli*, had his legge ſhot through with an harquebuſſe, the French guidons were raſte and torne: and the Harquebuſſiers that were beyonde the ditche, turning themſelues on the ſide of the enimies, did with their often and thicke ſhooting much endamage the men of armes, and ſpecially their hoſſes. In the meane ſpace, the battel of the *Switzers* being deſeated, the ſotmen firſt cryed, *Victorie, victorie*: this moſt ſayful crye brought from one to ano-

ther euent vnto the hindermost rankes, the Frenchmens hartes incontinently quailed: but the courage of the Emperalls encreased: *Lescune* windeth himselfe out of the sight, and wyth singular constancie (although he had losse many of his hoysmen) recouereth his bzother *Lautrech*, who when he sawe the slaughter & sight of the *Switzers*, constantly stode still with his whole battell. But when *Pescara* sawe the foremoste rankes disordered, and the footmē turned into flight, entreated and besought *Frondesberg* as earnestly, as he coulde for his life, and adhorted the *Almaines*, that they woulde pursue the fleeing and beate the backs of the discomfited, take reuenge of the nation that was the moste deadly enemy of the *Almaines*, and finally without any danger, winne an entier victoꝝy. But when he coulde not obtaine this of them, who of insolent contumacie woulde not obey, and with terrible muttering requested to haue treble pay: he for to enkindle them by example, sent forth thre bandes of *Spanishe* footemen. But because they ran forth scattered, neyther wolde the *Almaines* folow them, they lasing *Guinea*, a valiant pett Captaine, were almoste enclosed, partly by the *Switzers* that drew backe the ordinaunce, and partly by *Iohn de Medici*, who running tranerse the field, guarded the backs of the departing *Switzers* wyth a strong troupe of footemen and hoysmen: yet the Emperall hoysmen, when *Proffero* commaunded them, and *Pescara* requested them with angry countenance to make hast, pursued them and then *Medici* boldly turning his troupes vpon them the hoysmen skirmished together aboue two houres, for both the French and Venetian light hoysmē repaired from al parts vnto *Medices* standerds. But at the beginning of the battell when the *Switzers* were ouerthowen, almost all the Venetian power went away with *Theodoro de Trivulzi* their Captain, neuer once attempting to fight. There perished of the *Switzers* what in the fight, and afterwarde of their woundes, about thre thousande: among whom nexte to *Albers Petra*, *Arnolde* of *Vnderwalden* did moste excell for authoritie and valiant courage. But there were slaine of the Frenchmen *Monsieurs de Molans*, and *Chisci*, and two noble yong gentlemen *Monsieur de Monifors*, and *de Turnon*. But of the Emperalls *Peter Carle* of *Coli-*

sa, of the house of Cardana, Pescara his mothers brother, being shotto into the eye as he plucked vp hys beuer, with the quarel of a cross-bow, wherof there was but one in the whole field The next day after when the Emperials pursued the frenchmen, they dissolued al their army, & Switzers wēt home, the Venetians repaired vnto Bressa, Lesune & Medici to Cremona, Bozzolo with the rest of the horsemen to Lodi, and Lautrech the bastard and Palice into France. When the Emperials folowing the victoꝛye, won Lodi, Cremona & finally all the dutchy, except the Castells of Milan, Cremona, and Nuara, and then also sacked the rich Citie of Genoa.

¶ The battell fought at *Paui* in *Lumbar-*
dy betweene *Frauncis* the French King and
Charles Duke of *Burbon*, *Charles de Lanoy* viceroy of *Naples*
the Marquesse of *Pescara* captains for *Charles* the sixt Emperour
on *Saint Mathies* day in anno .1525. written by *Iouini* in the
life of the Marques of *Pescara*.



In the yeare of oure Lorde .1524. the
Emperiall power hauing utterly expel-
led the frenchmen out of all the duchy
of *Milan*, inuaded *France*, & besieged the
strong Citie of *Marfles* in *Fronco*: but
when they heard of the approach of *Francis*
the french king with a puissant po-
wer, they speedily brake vp the siege,
and hasted into *Italy*: whome the king

pursued so fast, that the Emperials were no soner entred the Citie of *Milan*, but that he was also at the gate, and toke the citie, the Emperials forsaking it, and fleeing with al their army vnto the Citie of *Lody*: but that they had before placed *Antony de Leno* in the citie of *Paui*, with all their Transquency (being five thousand) and five hundred *Spaniards* footmen, & two cornets of horsemen The king not staying at al at *Milan* but only leauing the *L. Tremouille* with a power to bessege & castel) marched incōtinently to *Paui*, & came thither & 28. of *March* which he besieged so long, that

Char.

The Battell of Pauye.

Charles the duke of *Burbon* (who had reuolted lately vnto the Emperoz, and had then the government of the Imperiall armie in the duchie of *Milan*) went into *Germanie*, & brought from thence *George Frondesberg*, with twentie bands of *Lansquenetz*, and *Nicholas* the erle of *salme* with two thousand hozsmen, and *Ferdinande* the Archduke of *Austrich*, sent v. C. hozsmen, and sixe thousand *Lansquenetz*. As soone as all these *Almayns* were arriued at *Lodi*, the Imperiall power did set forth agaynst the French king at the earnest persuation of the Marques of *Pescara*, who wan both *Lanoy* the viceroy of *Naples*, (who being fearefull of lésying his proper prouince, would haue gone vnto *Naples* with the hozsmen, and namely the *Neapolioans*, and all the light armed footemen of the *Almayns* and *Spaniardes*, to defende the kingdome of *Naples*, against the Duke of *Albanie*, whome the French king had sent with ten thousand men to inuade *Naples*, in the whiche enterprise he also shoulde be ayded by the Pope) to turne and to bend al their force against the French king: & also had gottē the *spanyards* to go forth to fight, which they at the first refused for long lacke of pay. So they armie being mustered (wherin were founde (sayth *Francis Guicciardine*) seuen hundred men of armes, and so many light hozsmen, and one thousand *Italian* hozsmen, and aboue sixtene thousande footemen, parte *spaniardes*, and part *Almayns*: (but *Iouius* seemeth to insinuate a greater number:) they departed from *Lodi* the five and twentieth day of *January*, and marched towards the French king, taking the towne of *saint Angelo* by the way, that they might forrage and be victualled freely without interception. The king vnderstanding of the winning of *saint Angelo*, remoued from the west part of the towne into the camp of *seigneur de la Palice*, who lay on the east side close vnto the wal of *Pauy park*. He also made strong munitiōs from the wal of the *Parke* cuen vnto the riuer of *Tesino*: and beating down a part of the *Parke* wall in three places, he made three wayes, as it were three mightie gates, by his hozsmen, who did almost al of them lodge in the parke on the left hande close vnto the wood side, might speedily at all times helpe the footmen, and also the station, that the king had left on the west side of the Towne. But after that the Imperiall power was encamped neare vnto the French, there was

was many a sharpe skirmishe attached, and also *Lance* constantly sallied out of the citie: in one of these skirmishes, or more truly after one of them, (when that he shewed vnto the lord *Banner* the Admiral of France, the place and maner of hisfortunate (skirmish) *John de Medicis* was shotte into the leg out of a lowe cottage, and so grievously hurt, that as despairing of life, he obtained of the king to be caried down the river vnto *Placenza* with the incomparable Incommoditie no doubt of the Frenchmen: for he was so couragious, vigilant, and expert a Capitaine, that there was no soldier so herpe a cowarde and faint harted, that woulde not cherefully folowe his ensignes, and woulde not desire to be siene in the helde with hym. Also about the same time (as though that fortune being sore displeased wyth the Frenchmen woulde bring all incommodities vppon them in one daye, the bandes of the *Grisons*, (who were six thousand) being renoued by domesticall warres began sodainely to aduance their ensignes & to departe home: for *Lamir de Medusa* a *Milnesse* afterwarde created Marques of *Salimian* had at the commaundement of Francis *Firza*, and the earnest requeste of *Pescara* invaded the *Grisons* vpon a sodaine, and wonne the towne and castell of *Clauenina*, and thereby brought greate terror vnto all the whole nation. The which daunger being certified by the magistrats vnto the *Grisons* that were in the french campe, they could not be caused to tary by any entreatie, although they were offered double wages: & which did augment the incommoditie also, diuers ensignes also of those *Switzers* that were their confederates folowed them, although that Marshall *Liscune* openly reuiled with reproches of auarice & perfidiousnes their Colonell. When when that he obstinately persisted in his purpose to be gone, chalenged him vnto the combat. Nowe had the armies lye many days almost close one vnto an other with so nere front, (a thing that had neuer happened in our age) that it was wonder that the souldiours would so long abide the incommodities either of perpetual laboz or most harde winter, and woulde exercise their bodies with continual watchings and skirmishes: neither a thing seldome siene, although all things in all partes were beaten with the great ordinance, yet would they not topne in battel, fortune inclining, ne-

ther to the one side nor the other. But hope of guerdon and praise, the noble stirrers vp of mens harts and feare of dishonour, which is a very sharpe pickte, yea vnto bassards, did wonderfully susteine and holde them vp, who contended with equall power, as though they must vanquish not by force, but by sufferance: for the french king being of an high minde, thought it for his dignitie rather to suffer all hardnesse, than not to maintaine the same of egregious constancie, the which vertue seemed to be straunge to the french mens nature: for as they hadde gotten all the victories of former times, rather by hot courage, and swift lease, than long perseuerance: so in orde they being tired by the long lingering of the Emperors Captaines, and broken by tediousnes of long warres, had lost the name of their auncient glozy. He also knewe that the besieged were distressed wth incredible penurie almoste of all things, and namely of wine, the which by long custome and usage is the thing that holds by & hories of the *Almaines*, & makes them chearefull and couragious to fight, he also vnderstande that those men which had arrived lately out of *Germany*, & also the *Spaniards*, & *Italians*, could not be long kept together without wages, seeing that the moneth was now almost out, the which they had promised at *Pescara* his entreaty to serue without money: finally seeing that his campe was fortified in all places with so greate rampires & munitions, he did not thinke that the enemies were so muche to bee feared, that he ought to leaue his enterpryse with ignominie: seeing that they which had proudly come with so greate lease & violence, & boasting, to assault his campe, seemed by dishonorable lying before it xx. days with frustrate attempt, to haue spent not only their victuals, provision, and mony, but also that terrible fame of fierkenesse. Yet neuerthelesse not being ignorant how much his power was diminished, he very earnestly endeououred to augment his army with newe supplies: yet doeth *Guicciardin* write, that hee had in his campe. 1300. men of armes, 10000. Switzers, & so many *Lanquenets*, 50000. french footmen, & 7000. *Italians*, although that through the slacknes of the captaines & the negligence of his officers, the number of the footmen was far lesse than he payd wages for. But first of all other things, & king made truce with the *Genoese*, & 4000 *Italians* might be instantly brought into his camp fro *Savona* by the

y^e Marques of salucei, but *Gaspard Mayno* a *Milanes* suddenly setting
 vpon this powner with certaine bands of *Sforzans*, as they passed o-
 uer the riuer of *Burne*, did so defeat the: y^e he brought the captains
 prisoners, & almost all the rishins vnto *Alessandria*. Thus the *L.*
 hauing lost the hope of aid frō *Sauana*, sent for *Tremouille* frō *Milan*,
 with a company of horse, & for the greatest part of the footmen, y^e
 besieged the castel of *Milano*. Now there were at *Milan*, by *Guicciar-*
dins report, 3000. men of armes, 6000. footmen of *Grisons*, & *Valisse*
land men, & .iij. thousand french footmen. *Tremouille* carried with
 him to the kyng all the footmen, except .ij. M. The *L.* also com-
 manded *Mamorency*, who was captain of the third french campe,
 which lay in the small *Island*, y^e the riuer of *Tesino* maketh before y^e
 citie of *Paue*, to bring all the most chosen horsemen & fortune into y^e
 greater campe, & leaue the erle of *Claramont* with a certayn to kepe
 y^e *Isle*. The sum of all y^e kings entent & purpose was this: to sende
 forth a part of his horsemen vnto *San Columbano*, y^e they sleying about
 and remaining at the backs of the enimies, might take away frō
 the al abilitie to be victualled, & to forage freely at their pleasure:
 & in the meane time he wold kepe himselfe within the munitions
 & continue til the siege, & expect, intencue, and ready, with what e-
 uer *Albany* did enter the kingdome of *Naples*, and what the hope
 & the *Venetians* his confederates would attempt: yet there wanted
 not men of great qualitie for their long seruice in the wars, who
 with free speech did discomend these counsels which were fraught
 ful of supream perill, & endeouored to pluck out of y^e kings minde
 that determinatio of fatall setce: & specially aboue other *Tremo-*
nille, *Galeazzo Sanseuerino*, *Palisse*, & *Theodoro Trivulzi*: for they saide y^e
 both the honours and dishonours of warrefare are defined by none
 other estimation, than the supream victorie, wherinto a prudent
 and graue Chieftaine wold reuoke al his cogitations: for what
 maye serue vnto men skilfull in martiall matters to be more fo-
 lish and shamefull than being not forced by necessitye, to bring
 the kings person into that perill: whereby the whole weahne of
France shoulde endauenger both their dignitie and safetye: final-
 ly, what could be more estranged frō reason, thā with lesse nūber
 of souldiours and wth lesse reward of victorie, to fight a doubt-
 full battell wth theyr moste valiaunt and desperate enimies,

For all their aduersaries their hope was reposed in hastling and certitie, that befoze they were vanquished by difficulties of all things, they might fight with moze indifferēt conditions while that they are yet strong by great and freshe power. What saide Pulice, do not our sharpe witted enemies most manifestly see, that by day and tariance our power groweth stronger and stronger, and contrariwise that theirs is greatly lessened, and also their deuises and endeuours do waxe weake and will be turned into an vncertaintie, seeing that within these fewē dapes, their mony and victuals, provision, and the good willes and aides of all men will quite and utterly faile them: All things surely, if we play the wise men, wil speedily fall out fortunāt for vs, and aduersē for them: so that we get vs out of this pounce, and encampe our selues at large at *Binasco*, that the battell being auoided, we may by continually lingering frustrate the rage and violent seasē of these wilde beastes, thereby to obtaine assured victory: for the *Almaines* (whelke I be decepued) will as soone as euer they come out of *Paue*, demaunde their due wages of the newe Captaines, as poore men that are almost starued by for lacke of meate, and also wanting all other necessary things: neyther will they glose and large promises now any longer serue their tourne to appease and please their souldiours, but present and greate stoze of gold, for ouer and aboue their ferocitie naturally ingrafted, their valiaunt seruice wyll not without iuste cause make them insolent: and thus they being defrauded and deluded, wil either raise by some sedition, or else being contented with the gloze of constancie will incontētly by retorne home: in so much that I do not despaire, but that the reste of them, as they which haue now deliuered their kinsmen from siegē, wil retorne into *Germany*, when that no present mony shal be paid them. In the meane time, both y^e priuers that are our friends wil with moze open end euour helpe vs, and also *France* at hand wil commodiously and abundantly supply al things that the warres shal require. Surely your Maestie hath vanquished, if that you will haquish by newe and holsonē reason your mind which is induced with the vaine praisē of p̄seuerance. For it seemeth not to be the part of a wise and good chieftain, to seeke gloze by

by perurade, that moybzmg dthono2, and almost assured destru-
tion vnder a certayne false, or shadowed name of constancie.
These things were true, and so much the greater authoritie was
in *Palice* his wordes, as he was accounted to by moze forward to
fghte, and moze seruent than the rest of the Captains. For it did
appeare that he had bin aduised, not by some doubtful, but a most
certayne reason, for to forsake hys olde wouste, and hys naturall
iudgement: sith that he had before time deserued the name rather
of an effectuall and valiant, than a lingering doubtful, and waiey
Captaine. And also vnto this effect (which seemed to be sente out
of *Clemente* the Popes mouth) did *Albert Pio* Erie of *Carpi* the kings
Ambassadour, write vnto him from *Rome*, and very diligently and
earnestly admonished and counselled him to shun the hazard of v-
niuersall fight by remoning his campe backe vnto *Binasco*: by-
cause it seemed that the fease and violence of the freche and fierce
Almain entrie was not to be broken by force, but by timely and
commodious staying and lingering. This also very wel liked *Re-
nee* of *Sauoy* the kings vnckle, who, as one hosull for the kings safe-
tie, had condemned al hazarde of battell. But one aboue al other
Bionnius the Admirall, who had through his fine wit, great arte,
vigilancie, and seruicableness, gotten hym a most sure and firme
place of fauour with the king, spake against them that counselled
the breaking vp of the siege, in company modestly, but in priuate
and withdrawen talke, when he was alone with the king, very
behemently. What (saith he) shall a King of so passing courage,
and instructed with the surpassing precepts and experimentes of
martiall discipline, as your *Majestie* is, be with this rote of dis-
honor and infamy ruled by *Tremouille* a man very extream olde,
or *Galeazzo*? at the sense of bothe whiche mens lively and speedy vi-
gour, and lusty courage, thre scope and ten yeares haue dulled and
blunted: What and hath not that noble order of fight, wherein of
late *Palice* most surmounted, now waxed through colde in him by
encroching age? It is so in very dede: in so much that me thought
he plaieyth to dape the very fond man in counselling that thyng
olde man like, wherein he himselfe was neuer good, no: doth not
nowe leude vs the helpe of balsauinc band, the which we do to day

néde and he hath bin alwayes wont to be, and now may also ex-
 celsly therein excell among the stoutest. But as for *Theodore*, it is
 méte that he folow the inclination of his age, nature and disposi-
 tion: seying that he had rather by suspectyng, doubtyng and prou-
 dyng that enery thyng, whych is far off, fall not, warely to saue
 himselfe and your royall army, than by fightyng balpantly, and
 byentryng into the chaunces of wars with not most certaine and
 infallible euent, sicke for and get, yea almost an assured victorpe.
 What then doth empeach, but that I may set against these woyme
 olbe men five hundred others, that haue for valoz of conrage and
 their noble actes deserued the name of captains Generall: whose
 noble harts fear neuer entred, for it is y blage & maner of French
 men to vanquish famously, when their king is present, doth giue
 them the signall of battell, doth encourage them. and fight hym-
 self, as we haue learned to fight valiantly & fortunately at *Tarro*,
 vnder the conduct of king *Charles*, at *Adda* vnder king *Lewis*, and
 vnder your Maiestie, with so great commédation at *Malan*. Sure-
 ly we are not the same men that we haue alwayes béene, that is,
 ballant & desirous of honour, if we do once thinke that we ought
 to feare least these mighty high rampires, & these strongly entren-
 ched campes, may be expugned and scaled one night as it wer by
 théues and cut throate robbers. But for Gods sake lette not this
 dishonour of a fewe bloudlesse men, redounde vnto the ignominie
 of the *Switzers* and *Almans* that serue your highnesse, and the
 old horsemen, who whereas they do utterly despise and contemne
 yea in an indifferent field, this armie of the enemies lent by by
 sodeyne and hasty musters, and choise, and byed for smal wages,
 do also repose in the fortune & name of your roial person, who lay-
 ing apart Maiestie, will fight most valiantly of all other, the mo-
 ment of most assured victorie. But although the king being sus-
 pended with a very sharpe care, did very diligently weigh in e-
 quall ballance the wordes of his Captaynes, yet fortune incli-
 ning, he followed those counsels which seemed most honourable,
 and most méte for his hie heart. But this habite of heartes was
 among *Thempierials*, that not only enery Captaine, but also eue-
 ry common souldour did thinke that the victorie was certainly
 theirs,

theirs, if that they coulde toyne in battell with the king, by anye indifferent means, before that he got him thence. On the which only occasion of fight, among other, *Pescara* was so vehemently bent, that whilste he with incredible patience and desire, did both daye and night bieve and surney all thinges : It is reported that he withholde from nature the desires and necessities of meate, and sleepe, to the grievous hurt of his health . But sithence it was apparant that the Kings Munitions coulde not be wonne, but with doubtfull event, and assured losse of souldiours : he determined to enter into the Marke by breaking open the wall, that fetching a little compasse about, he might come to *Mirabelle*, the which is a lodge of singular pleasure, very commodious for Hawking and hunting, standing almost in the midst of the Marke, the which is sixtene myles about. In that place the King remouing from his olde lodging, had placed his horsemen, and had left there a great company of marchants, and straglers, and men of peace. Nowe was *Pescara* desirous to take this place speciallly, for two causes : for if he coulde without empeachment of the entrie get *Mirabelle*; (the whiche thing was first purposed in this journey) then he manifestly sawe that with his surpassing prayse, and the infamie of the French men, *Leua* were deliuered from Siege, and also the enemies were utterly excluded from the Citty of *Milane* : But if the King to impeache that journey, would nothing doubt to issue out of the munition of his campe for to fight, then abilitye woulde be given commodiously to toyne in battayle wpth him : the which thing the Emperials did so greatly desire wpth ardent heartes : and in very dede were forced by necessitie to wythe and seke it, bycause they wanted money to paye the souldiours, and also nowe the hearts of their olde allies were not doubtfully turned vnto the French kyng. All these things as they were intended and deuised by a shylfull and sharpe percing wpt, in lyke manner did *Pescara* declare vnto the captaynes, describing every thing wpth so great efficacie, and couragiosnesse, that he seemed to reioyce not in the victoorye surely turneped, and founde out, but gotten and obteyned. And also *Lenny* and *Burbon* conceyving greater confidence, did nowe beleue that they hadde vanquished.

For when that he proued all things by most weightie arguments and graue speeches, his credit and authoritie increased so almoste immeasurably, that it was utterly boide of obtrication and enuie: (the which vice doth alwayes hurte flourishing vertue) and in so much that the chiefe captains did of their owne accordes commit vnto him the supreme authoritie in wholly ordering this matter, the which thing was almost more glorious vnto him, than afterwarde to haue vanquished, as he that hauing often at other times tamed his enemies, yet had this one worke only left him to ouercome enuy by vnwonted glory: and certes it seemed a wonder, that *Lanoy*, who was yea ambitiously desirous of honor, and the highest authoritie, and *Barbon*, who had the chiefe charge of martiall affaires, preferred him before themselves, as the better warrior, not only by secret, but also by free and open iudgement, for *Piscara* was at that time boide of all authoritie and honor, because he had before in the toyney to *Maiflai* giuen by the office of governing the footemen, vnto the Parquesse of *Guasto* his vnckles sonne and bys owne heire apparant. But he was so lused of peculiar charge, that he alone almost administrated all things, and taking incredible toile bothe in bodie and minde, was still among the footemen, the horsemen, the viduallers, the purueyors, and ordinaunce, continually viewing and seeing that nothing were done ouer hastily, negligently or vnskilfully. So then the resolution being allowed of all the inferiour Captaines, and the exploit taken vpon hym, *Piscara* sent *Arrio*, one that had charge of horsemen (promising him greate rewardes) vnto *Antony Lena*, to tell him that he should incontinently sally out of the Citie, when he should haue intimation thereof at the tyme appointed by the shooting off of two mightie greate peeces of ordinaunce. Neyther didde fortune faile vnto *Arrio*: for he setting forth in the deade time of the nyght, came in safely with his troupe (fetching a greate compasse about) vnto the backe gate of the towne, hauing deserped the frenchmen that watched, by an happy lye: for when they asked hym for his watch word, he faining himselfe to be one of *Medicis* companies; (as he had also counterfeited their habite with a white crosse) made his creuse, that he could not tell the watch word because he

had bene two dayes out of the Kings campe in a wode. After *pescara* had intelligence by a fire made out of the top of the toure, that *Arrio* was fortunately entred the towne: he commaunded *Salcedo* to breake open the wall of the Parke, deliuering vnto him to doe it withall, *Ramnes* made after the auncient forme: and also vpon Croiues and Pickares. But he commaunded *Leues* *Viacampe*, and also *Hercera*, and *Gualses*, to stande wth their bandes in seueral places ouer right against the munitions of the enemy, and make a noyse all the night long with their weapons and Drummes, and by putting them in feare, and prouoking them, keepe them still occupied. But when they had receiued word that he was entred the Parke, they shoulde incontinently followe with their bandes. He also willed *Honofito Montano* to stande not farre from the Parke wall vpon an high banke ouer right against the blacke regiment of the Laniquenets, and so to bestirre himselfe and his men, that it might seme that the bandes were in armes throughout all the campe, as they had vsed to be many nightes before. He also commaunded that all the cariages of the armie shoulde go forth into the high way towards *Lodi*, with a garde of a troupe of light horsemen, and also commaunded an other companie of horsemen to take waye that laye vpon the left hande, that if there were espies in the Campe, they being distracted and deceiued by so many and diuers goings forth, and so sundrie preparation of all things, might not be able to tell the French men any thing for certaintie. But *Salcedo* who had come in the deade time of the night vnto the place before prescribed, spent the night in long beating and bouncing in vaine, so that the dawning was broken before that he had opened the wall in thre places, somewhat later than *Pescara* woulde haue had it. For the wall being made of Brick after the olde buylding, was verie strong, and resisted the *Ramnes* with singular continuacie, although they were driuen against it with the armes and strength of whole bandes. The first man of all that was sent into the Parke by *Pescara*, was *Alphons Marques* of *Gualses*, with the valiantest of the Spanishe and *Almaine* footemen, and thre companies of horsemen. Incontinently *Greco Iustiniano*, a *Genouese*, who

watched in the station nerte vnto the place, where the enimies brake in, was chased awaye. There were with *Guaſto* about five thousande men, vnto whome it was enioyned to marche directely to *Mirabello*, and to take that place without any returne. When that *Guaſto* entred the Parke, *Pescara* sayde vnto him with seuer, but yet with chearefull countenance. Pluche by a good heart vnto thee (valiant brother) for this day thou must endeavour to win the place: but if that your handes (whiche God defende) shall not suffice against your so often vanquished enimies, then see that your bodies by dying honorably, do nobly pay (your enimies not vnrueged) that which they doe else vnto vnto their valiant heartes. To whome *Guaſto* answered with a ioyfull countenance: I will this day manfully doe my deuoye, that I being either alive, or deade, the honors of our house maye be augmented by heape throughe some newe and famous dede of prowes: and then breaking into the Parke with square battell, marched to a streame called *Vernacula*, meeting with none of his enimies, and then passing over the small river, went to *Mirabello*, where, becauſe of the largenesse of the house, a myghtie multitude of Merchantes, Dragers, sicke souldiours, and men of peace had settled themselves, and great store of victualles, and much of the kings furniture of houtholac was also layde there. And there was among all other (that he might lodge the more quietly and wholsomely) the Popes Ambassadour *Hieremie Alexander*, a man verie excellently learned, and of greate fame, much for his wonderfull memorie. So when the enimies had shewen thither beloked for, all that whole compaignie was straightwaye oppressed, and all thynges were in a trice spoyled, and then *Guaſto* gathering his bandes together into one, as *Pescara* had commaunded him, he did set vpe the Emperiall Ensignes within the dicke of the house. In the meane tyme, *Pescara* immediatly bringeth in the rest of the footemen: *Lancey* and *Burben* doe sende in the horsemen: the artillerie is drawen into the Parke by Dren and hoxes, although hardlye yet at one tyme. The fieldes are filled with whyte linnen battayles: for all the Emperialles had by *Pescara* his Edige put their watter-coates.

uppermost, and they which lacked waste coates, and specialllye the *Almaines*, had so couered their breaſtes with whyte paper, that by the vnwonted whyte, the weapons glistering betwene, a ſhewe of a greater and more terrible hoſte might be preſented vnto the eyes of the amazed frenche men. For nowe the dawning hadde brought in fayre boade daye light, and the ſomewhat thicke cloude which had bene ſpreade ouer the fields, began to vaniſhe awaye by little and little. But the frenche King, who perpetually watched intenciu for all chaunces, is nothing appalled with that noueltie, and therewithall, as it became eyther a King of high heart, or a ſkilfull and ſtout Chief-taine, giueth ſigne by the Trumpette, that euery man taking his armour and weapons, ſhoulde ſtande by the Enſignes, he commaundeth the great ordinaunce to be drawen forth by the harneſſed hoſes, and by the Captaines (as neede was) adminiſtred all things ſpeedily, but yet not without all tumult and uprore, for he had learned long beſore by the report of *Grecolustiano*, what the enemies went about by thicke thumping againſt the wall of the Parke, and when he heard the thundering of the enemies ordinaunce, who *Lena* by appointmet had answered with the like nūber, he had iudged by coniecture, that it was doubtleſſe a ſigne eyther of attacking battayle, or of attempting ſome great exploite. It is alſo reported, that he ſharply reſproued certayne, that of vaine flatterie tolde him, that the Imperialles being oppreſſed with penurie, and lacke of all thinges, were fleeing backe againe into *Lodi*. Thus when he plainly ſaw that the battayles of the enemies marche with full pace not vnto him, but to *Mirabella*, he thinking it not good to linger, leadeth the *Switzers* and *Languenettes* out of the munitions: he commaundeth the frenche footemen to ſtaye in the Campe with *Eufie de Ambia*, he leaueſt the *Italian* footemen in commodious places vnder the Caſtell againſt the ſallies of *Lena*, and marcheth himſelfe vnto the enemye in aray of battayle, with this order, that on the one ſide, the great ordinaunce, and on the other, wings of hoſemen ſhoulde flanke the *Switzers*, and march with them with equall fronte, one as farre forth as another: and

not farre off the Lansquenets were flanked in like sort with other horsemen and ordinance. They report that when the King ledde the footemen out of the campe, he being very ioyfull in countenance, nor any thing fearing the malignitie of fortune, sayde vnto the Captaines that stode rounde about him: that he went not rashlye forth to fight the battell, neuer calling reason into counsell, but with a right and noble iudgement, seeing that he coulde with most equall lot wish nothing more commodious for the winning of the victorie, than to get his enimies not within ditches and munitions, (as it had often happend at other tymes) but in the open and wyde fieldes, and in their marche and iourney: where it might be seene, what the standing Squadrons of *Switzers* & *Almaines* were worth, what force & most strong horsemen had, what good the great ordinance flying on swift wheelles coulde doe. For against the Lansquenets, who onely of all other seemed most to be feared, he did rightly set the *Switzers*, as their matches in discipline, furniture, strength, and courage, so also alwaies their most bitter enimies by naturall hatred. But he thought that the *Spaniards* woulde not be able to abide, no not the first impression of the blacke regiment of Lansquenets, if that they woulde keepe their ranks in thicke araye: neyther if that they woulde fight scattered, and running hither and thither, that they coulde escape from being ouerrunne by the horsemen. Doubtlesse these things were foresene, and prouided with very good aduise and reason, if that (as it most times happenieth) insolent fortune beinge for vnto noble deuises, had not peruerterd all thinges by censure order. For they ranne together in sundrie places with so great confusion of horsemen and footemen bluded together, that neuer any armies fought more confusely and scatteringly. For happe came straight wayes into the place of partiall prouidence, and valor was oftentimes vanquished by an vnthought of chaunce, when rashnesse seemed by happye euent to vsurpe the name of mature counsell and reason. In the hindermost taile of the *Imperialles* were seven hundredes of *Italian* footemen, and thre of *Spaniards*, appointed to garde five battering peeces of ordinance. When they hardlye followed the rest of their fellowses that

that went before, bicause that almost as soone as they had entered the Parke, the wheeles surking in, the ordinance sticke fast in a watric plot: it came to passe, that they which were last in order, were contrarie to hope, the first of all that met the Frenchmen their enemies. For the King seeing them separated farre from the rest of the armie, did out of hande sende thither *Philip Lord Brion*, & *Fredericke Earle of Bozzolo*, with a strong companie of men of armes, & with certain speedy peeces of ordinance, and also certain small loose companeis of footemen were ioyned with them. They doe speedily his commandement, and doe set vpon the enemies being busied in weyghing by the ordinance. There is a cruell fight: but although the Emperials fought with singular valoz, yet they susceyning neyther the stoyne of the ordinance, nor the force of the hoysenmen, toke the woode adioyning to saue themselves by the garbe of the trees, from the violence of the insulting hoysenmen. So the Frenchmen quickly cutting off the legs of the drawing beastes, doe get the ordinance, and with the same violent pursuite doe enter the woode, where being oppzessed with the disadvantage of vnaccustomed encounter, *Sebastian Squaccia*, a man of passing prowes was slayne, and with him certaine stout petie Captaynes and Ensigne bearers, yea, and foure whole bandes. This exployt being prosperously done in the sight of both armies, as it did greatlye augment the courage of the King and the French men, so did it strike *Pescara* with incredible sorowle, bicause he coulde not succour them. But on the other side, he being grãdie of sight, as soone as he sawe the Kings armie (the which he did not thinke woulde haue come forth into the felds out of their campe) wonderfully reioyced, as though he had conceyued the victorie. Neyther stayed he, but immediatly sent *Falzi*, an hoysenman of his acquaintance, vnto *Lansy* to admenishe him to stay his marche, and all things set apart, and turning the Cuidons towarde the enemies, incontynently to encounter them: he also signifieth the same vnto *Burban*, and *Nicolas Earle of Salern*, and gallopeth himselfe to call *Guaſto*, but *Guaſto* as soone as he had seene his enemies, leauing *Mirabillo* marched backe to *Vernacula*, and setting his men in aray of battel, had turned the ensignes

towardes the enemies : so; he did not thinke that in this moment of time, he ought to obey that which had bene at the firste commaunded him, but speedily to vse the newe counsell whiche chaunce did present. Then *Pescara* sayde : this is well brother, you haue done that which I woulde you should : wherefoze haste you on the lefte hande vnto the ennemie with speedie pace, and valiauntlye endeuour that the victorie maye mooste speciallye aryse at your wing. When he had thus sayde, he slewe vnto the *Lansquenets*, in whose valoz and strength he did foysesee that the weyght of the battayle, and the whole victorie did consist. In the meane time, a troupe of the Emperiall light horsemen, boldly charging the blacke Squadron of *Almaines*, were easillye repelled, and thrust backe with foule disorder, into the valley of *Vernacula* that laye vnderneath, and also the *French* ordinaunce beinge commodiouslye drawen with swift horses into all quarters with marueylous skill and celeritie, did so annoy the enemies, that the *Spaniards*, yea laying their byestes flatte vpon the grounde, coude scarce escape the fleeing pellets through the benefite of the lower grounde, and *Lancy* and *Alarco* were forced to bring their fearefull troupes of horsemen behinde a countreis Cottage, which happilye defended them. But then the king beinge bohemently incited by these, as it were beginnings of not doubtfull victorie, and moued both by the disposition of his owne nature, and also through the adhortation of his Captaines, doubted nothing to giue the signall, & to dismarche to giue the charge. The rest do the same : and before all other *Palice* the leader of the auantgarde, did in the right wing charge the Emperiall horsemen, who were now lustily turned. This fease and charge of the Frenchmen, as it was grauous and terrible to *Lancy*, so by the opinion of many men it seemed to haue afterward not doubtfullye caried away the victorie from the Frenchmen : for by that headlong and speedie departure, not onely the *Switzers* and *Almaines*, who coude not follooe after with equall pace, were bared of the garde of the horsemen, but also the vse of the ordinaunce was for a great part taken awaye, for that the Gunners were forced to cease shooting, least that they shoulde strike both the sides and
backes

backes of the kings troupes, who were runne forth farre befoze them. But neuer in our age did horsemen encounter together moze couragiously and strongly: for on both sides olde beaten Captaines and horsemen, fought with burning heartes, not for only glorie (a thing yet that doth most sharpen the edge of true prowesse) but also for the Empire of *Italie*. The Frenchmen being greedy of revenges fought in all places of the encounter most narrowly for *Burbon*, as a forsaker of the King and his countrie, with the ignominie of treason and perfidiousnesse: but all in vaine, for *Burbon* that he might moze safely shewe his valor, had giuen his Cognizances vnto his familiar frende the Lord *Pomperant*, and fought himselfe in his coate, and apparailled like vnto a private souldiour. But the King himselfe being notorious for his coate of cloth of Glouc, and specially for his tall stature, full peformed the dutie of an encouraging Captaine, and a valiant warrior, he setting spurres to his horse, brake throughte the enemies battayles, he encountred those that he mette, and namelie those that were mozte of marke for velvet and golde. In this vyproze, *Ferdinand Castriota*, who broughte his pedigree from the Kings of *Macedon*, and was also a noble Captaine, was slayne by the Kynges owne hande; and *Hugh of Cardona*, the Lieutenant of *Pesara* his companye of Horsemen, was also beaten downe, two Guidons were torne into peeces, and the horsemen of *Banier*, whome *Ferdinande* the Emperours brother had sent, lustily attacking the encounter, and most constantly fighting, were defeated: so that now the Guidons and troupes of *Enoy* and *Burbon* did almoste swaye and shrinke backe. For the Frenchmen were superiour in horsemen, both for number and strength, because the Imperiall men of armes did lacke the ayde of light horsemen, for of the three troupes, the firste had gone to *Mirabelle* with *Guallo*: the seconde, as we haue tolde you, being shamefully repulld by the blake *Almaynes*, had fledde backe: But the thirde being lefte wythoute the Marke, vnder the conduite and guyding of *Guy Guino*, did garde the cariages, and baggage of the whole armye. Also that surpassyng companye of horsemen, whyche consisted wholye of *Italian*.

and *spanishe* Gentlemen, and was the peculiar companie of the Viceroy, ayded them not at all, as they which were not at the battell. For *Lanoy* had commaunded Monsieur *Vereen* a *Fleming*, his cosin, and Lieutenant ouer that bande, to stave without the wall of the *Parke*, nor by any meanes to stirre from thence, vntill that he had receyued from him by assured messenger, the token of departure, and of entring the fight. But when the battaile was incontinently attached, and very hote, and *Lanoy* had all his senses and memorie so vehemently occupied about the present and terrible matter, that he sent no man to call his cosin: the yong Gentleman thinking that he must in any case obey his vncles commandementes, and the preceptes of Partiall discipline, stode still, and moued not vntill the ende of the battaile: neyther could he be adduced to go forth into the field by any intreatie or chafing of the horsemen, vnto *Lanoy*, being for these causes in great distresse, and hardlye suffeyning the force of the Kings battaile.

Pescara (who viewing all things and places with wonderfull and present prudence, and specially with intentiue eye, did meete with and redresse euery difficultie in this place and in that, finallye in all partes, sent about viij. C. *spaniards* harquebussiers to succour him, who being sodenly spred rounde about at the backe & sides of the *French* horsemen, beate downe a mightie number of them with their terrible store of pellets. And also he set streight after them a band of armed *Pikes*: & then the harquebussiers being safe through their garde, did more boldlye and incessantlye vse their harquebusses. When the Kings horsemen had receyued this great incommodie, they not being able to abide thicke together in troupe, and thinking that if they did spreade aboade their wings, they should be able to repugn with lesse peril: brake their aray, scattered themselves abrode. But when by this denise they met with more infectious fortune, they being relyed againe into a thicke troupe, for shame and anger runne vpon the harquebussiers. But the *spaniards* being numble by nature, and light armed, did swiftly flee backe, losing their aray, and by turning and winding this way and that way, eluded the violence of the horses, and being augmented in number, they did as they had ben taught

both

both by long experience, & also by the new preceptes of *Pescara*, scattered themselves all the field over without order, twentie & thirtie, & ten or sirtene (as it hapned) in a companie. This was a new kinde of fight and not vsuall, but very cruell and miserable, bicause that the vse of noble prowes in the horsemen was utterly lost, the Harquebussers with great aduantage dispatching all before they coulde reache them with their Launces: neyther could, yea the most strögest armes do any good long, but that they which were thicke and many together, were slayne by the thinne and fewe, and often the most famous Captaines and horsemen were euerywhere stricken downe with vauenged death, by the base and common footemen. Also in another quarter, *Gualfo* hauing from the right wing aduanced his footemen, & bringing in his wing of horsemen, had now prosperously encountered with *Anna Montmorencie* and his horsemen, being defeated by the Harquebussiers, he himselfe before other, had gotten the thirties ordinance, hauing slayne the Gunners. But it happened in this encounter (which I thinke is not to be passed ouer vnspoken of) that *Gualfo* and *Montmorencie* (who afterwarde became most famous Chiefetaines) did a good while (as we haue learned of them both) very sharply fight one with thother, man to man, with this euent, that not long after *Montmorencie* his horse being slayne by *Gustaldo*, he was at length taken by *Errera* a Petite captaine of the *Spanishe* footemen. *Gualfo* being made more couragious by this successe of things, did set vpon the lesser battallion of the *Switzers*, who were appalled with the losse of the ordinance, and the flight of the horsemen, and therefore did attache the fight with doubtfull and lingring aces. But then might you see (an incredible thing to be spoken) that nation which a little before were feared of all men for their excellent & approued balo: in the fielde, and specially in a battayle, quite forgetting both hono: & discipline, and also their ingrafted ferocitie, to refuse to fight twelny before they had once charged their pykes, and for feare of honorall death, sought an infamous and most shamefull destruction in the very deepe river. *Florange* in bayne going about to keepe them still in the battell, and

and to confirme them with great obtestations, & he who was of very familiar acquaintāce with that nation, & in dignitie one of the Marshalls of France offered & professed y^e himself wold fight on fote in the forefront with his peculiar company of hozsmen, al of the sending away their hozses, insomuch that either angry God, or certes that satall daye vnto the King did seme to take awaye the wonted vigour of their huge and mightie bodyes and heartes. Neyther with lesse deformitie didde also another battallion of *Switzers* flee, which, as it was fuller for number of bandes, so it stode a while unmoued, but when they were a farre overwhelmed by the *Harquebussies*, spreading them selues rounde about them, with certayne perpetuall shoure of pelletes, and the valpauntest of the petite Captaynes (as it both mosse commonlye happen) were slayne in the foremost rankes, and when they had seene the discomfiture of the Kings hozsmen, they hurling away their Wykes, turned their backs. They report that when *John Diespach* (who had the highest authority among the captains of y^e *Switzers*) saw the bands shamefully to flee, no not once attempting to fight, & standing in their way all to chased, was not able to stay the Ensigne bearers, by reniling and beating them backe, he being compelled by mosse greuous dolour, woulde not lyue after so greates a foyle and shame receyued, but in that decreē of hardye hearte ranne into the thickest of the enemies, and died verye honourablye: yet the *Switzers* that suruined, dyd laye the faulte of this overthrowe and slaughter in *Alanfon*, who had marryed the Kings sister, bicause that he as a man nothing valiaunt, and a long tyme a beholder of the inclining battayle, at the length fleeing awaye (whilest that the fight was yet hote) with the untouched and whole hozsmen of the reterwarde, had by overthrowe hasting crosse them, and violent impulsio, broken the battallion of the *Switzers*, that fought noblye in good arape. But in the right wing of the Frenchmen, the blacke *Almaynes* only of all their footemen fought sharply and valiantly with the Emperiall *Almaynes*, as it were, in the very dispayre of their lyues, and of victorie, yea they encountred togither

ther almofte with greater hatred than ſtrength (the whyche yet did ſurmount) ſoꝛ that their heartes being enraged one agaynſt the other thꝛough long diſſention: they did thinke that vnto neyther of them that ſhoulde be beaten from his grounde oꝛ gyue backe and retire, there woulde be left anye hope at all, eyther of pardon oꝛ Martiall mercie. The Emperialles were wode angrye that the blacke *Almaynes*, contemning and ſcoꝛning the Emperours Maieſtie, and deſpiſing the authoritie of the *Almayne* name, had come with Mercenarie armes, ſoꝛ to beſſege and aſſaulte their brethren and couſins, in the behalfe of the Frenche men their auuncient ennemies. On the other ſide, the blacke *Almaynes* thought it moſt honourable to doe moſt valiant ſervice ſoꝛ that King who had maintained them ſo many yeares by his liberall wages, to keepe the ſayth of their othe. and in no caſe to admitte ought that ſhoulde be vniſſitting ſoꝛ olde ſouldiours. Perther in dede was there anye man among them, that was not fullpe perſuaded, that he ought in this doubtleſſe laſt age of lyfe, and endꝛouor of warlike worke, reuenge the iniurie of inſulting fortune with vnwonted valor and honourable death. When the *Eſquadrons* drew neare one vnto the other, *Longamentes*, a verbe noble Captayne of *Auſpurg*, came forth alone befoꝛe the battalion of the blacke *Almaynes*, chalenging vnto the combat *George Frondesberg* and *Mark Siſſch*, by lyfting vp his hande, and with a loude voyce. But hee beinge reſuſed with a gaſtlye hemmyng, and withall ſtricken at by manye menne at once, was ſone ſlayne, and a common ſouldiour, as it were, ſoꝛ a triumph. helde vꝑpe aloſte his cut off hande with his bracelette and ryngs, and then the Emperialles giuing a great ſhout ranne forth couragionſlye. But whyleſt that the two battalions made one towardeſ the other, *Pelcara* was betwene them on horſebacke, but in a footemans armour, often deſiring *Frondesberg* to amend his pace, and reberſing the battels befoꝛe time, in whome his pꝛowes had bene ſcene, inkindled him to wynn a victorie of all other moſt noble and moſt worthy of memoꝛie.

The Battell of Pauye.

So when both battalions ranne together, and Pescara galloped his horse on the enimies, he was wounded in the face (which was bare) and afterwarde his horse being slayne under him, he was also thrust through the left legge with a Pyke. In this terrible clashing together of weapons, he had doubtlesse bene oppressed by the Pykes both of his enimies and his friendes, but that now at this pynche, when he coule hardly wassle out himselfe, first an horseman of his owne household, and afterwarde the pettie Captaynes and Ensigne bearers that were neare at hande, had not with much adoe got him out and saued him. In the meane tyme, Frondesberg and Sitch stretching out in length their battalions on both sides with wonderfull skill, soz to enclose their enimies, receiued them as it were into their bosome, and then streightway clasped together their wings, compassing them in rounde, and slue them all, who resisted berve manfully and constantlye, so that one regiment fighting with thre, and therefore repugning with unhappy valor, almost no man of the blake regiment escaped. There perished besides Longomantes, Richard de la Pole, surnamed the white Rose, sonne vnto the Duke of Suffolke, who soz his honozable birth being descended of the bloude royall of Englande, and his great skill in partiall affayres, had bene made Captayne of the blake regiment. Also Francis brother vnto Anthonie Duke of Eorame, a yong Gentleman of passing prowes, who being notozious soz his armoz and cress, had requested a place in the foremost rank before all other men, and also two Almaines, Charles of Hornumberg and Clofen, famous men of warre, and Theodericke Stenbergh knight brother vnto Nicolas the Bishop of Compagna, and one also of great fame soz his honoz of Ambassadors, in whiche he had bene often sent, soz the industrie of his excellent witte. Thus whilest the Switzers are put to flight in one quarter, and the Almaines slayne in another: almost at the verve same time, the Kings battell is broken by the Harquebusiers and the horsemen, to whome also came the Pykemen. But then every notable Captayne, and notozious horseman runnes to defende and saue

saue the King. Many for desire to doe their last seruice in the sight of the King, do forsake their appoynted places and wards. Soe whiles that *salice* his horse being slayne vnder him, doth hardly retire vnto the *Switzers*, he being laden with pearces and armour is intercepted by the horsemen. But being pielded vnto *Gastaldo*, *Esquire* a Spaniard, enuying that the horseman should haue the raynsonne and pryse of so great a prisoner, did set his Harquebuste to his best, and slue him. And also *Tremouille* an olde Captayne that had wonne manie noble victories, is also shot through in two places, and slayne. Moreouer *Galenzo Sansseruino* galloping his horse this way and that way, with singular cunning, repelleth the enemies, and fighteth valiantly: but at length being slayne in the Kings sight, payde that by honorable ende of lyfe which he owed vnto the Kings great fauour towards him, and the fame of his noble name. When his horse fell downe vnder him, he calling vnto *William Lord Langey*, a noble Gentleman, who endeouored to helpe him in his fatall fall, sayde: *Wontie*, let me take my fortune, and runne backe as fast as you can to defende the King: and if you doe escape, frendly reuerence the memozy of my name, and honorable end.

It was a battell of all other most deadlye and aduerse for the horsemen, for the deadly bullets were shotte from all partes by the nimble Spaniardes, who were spzed rounde about them: and nowe they used not such small peeces as they had done a little before, but greater, whome they called Arcubusses, with whiche they woulde stryke through, not onely a man of armes, but oftentimes two men and two horses at a shot, so that the field being strewed ouer with the miserable lying along of the noble horsemen, and the heapes of the dying horses, did both hinder the valor of the horsemen, if that they would endeour to breake in with thicke troupe: and also if that anye man accounted his lyfe dearer than his honoz, he coulde not cedly and speedily flee, for the heapes of the slayne that lay euery sote in his way lyke vnto great rampires. In this cursed state *William Lord Bonswet* the Admirall, after he had long galloped to and fro, endeouoring by adhortation to slaye the *Switzers*, and also the horsemen

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that

that were able to see, seeing at length that the battayle was doubtlesse lost, neyther would he eyther to be punished, or to live in ignomie, suruiue so great an overthrowe, wherof he himselfe was reported to be chiefest authoꝝ, with grane and obstinate shame ranne into the middes of the enemies, and offering his throte vnto their weapons poyntes, was layne there, as he rode wth open face after the maner of the Captaines that gallop to and fro, and commaunde the souldiours what is to be done. But when the king was bared almost of all the companies that were appoynted to garde his bodie, and so many had bene layne rounde about him, and the rest had scattered themselves abroade into all partes, he laboured to get himselfe out from his enemies: but certaine horsemen of sundrie companies being mingled together, followed him, as one that was richly appointed and apparailled. Neyther doth the king forsake himselfe, although he were forsaken by his horse and fortune, but turning his horse this waye and that, defendeth himselfe with his sword against the insulting Imperialles, and both giuing and taking woundes, both valiantly repugne. But while hee stryuethe to go vnto the next bridge which went ouer a small water course, his horse was thrust in, and fell downe. The first men that came vnto him lying vnder his horse, were *Didaco de Abila*, and *John Orbieta*, a *Biscayan*, they not well knowing him, did shake their swordes ouer him, and willed him to yelde vnto them, that he had rather be layne. In the meane time came *Mon-sieur de la Motte* a Frenchman, Lieutenaunte vnto *Burbon*, who knewe him by the face, although it were sowly embzued all ouer with the goze bloude of his wounde. But when *Motte* adhorted him to yelde vnto *Burbon*, who was not farre off: the king chafing at the name of the traitoꝝ, and speaking as though he commaunded, sayde: Call me hither *Linoy*. Who in the meane time that *Motte* galloped vnto *Burbon*, being sought for in euery place by the calling and running of the souldiours, came timelye, and remouing from the King the great companie of them which stode houering ouer him, & causing him to be pulled from vnder his horse, did reach forth his hande, and helped him

him by. *Abila* pulled off his gantlet, and they that were next his coate armour, the which they tore into peeces, other got his gyrdle, and other his spurres, every man hasting to catch some thing of the kings, the which he might be able to shewe wryth not obscure credit, either for his honoz, or for to win rewards. After the king is taken, the Imperials in all places crye, victorie, victorie. The French mens heartes quakle, they sonly flee in all parts of the field. The *Switzers* being fearefull like shepe, runne into the river of *Tessino*, and being viterlye unskilfull of swimming, are drowned by whole troupes at once, but other of them casting downe their weapons, suppliantly desire lyfe. But rare prayse of humantie and mercie appeared that daye, but in those that were tyred with much slaughter: for that mightie victorie made the souldiours proude and mercilesse. And *Lema* his souldiours, who had sallied out late at the castel & new gate, of all other ragged most greedily and cruelly: for as they had not bene present at the battayle, so they opportunely turning forth after the victorie, met with the afrighted and wounded, intercepting from them all hope of flight. Also the *Italian* and French footemen, who we told you were left about the castel & the camp, the king when he doubted of the victorie, had sent for to come to his aide, and *Bussie de Ambou* hasting into the battell, brought them with him, but they lighted vpo the *Lansquenets*, that had defeated the blacke *Almatres*, & by them were defeated & put to flight, *Ambou* being slayne. But the nearnesse of the campe gaue many space to escape: for the *Lansquenets* woulde not breake their aray, to solow any man, but they stode in aray of battell, enen vntil y very last of y fight, redy against al chaces, because they are forbidden by a severe & very noble lawe of martiall discipline to go out of their aray & wards, to take any thing prisoner, or to gather vp y spoiles, the which other men greedily caught. By reason whereof it is well knownen, that almost neuer a noble prisoner & a very litle of the spoyle and pillage came vnto the hands of the *Almatres*, but as y standards by valiantly discomfiting the hoysenier, & the *Switzers*, doubtlesse won the victorie: so as it were by verys good right, they got and obtyned the

the most precious pillage, and the noblest prisoners. There were taken prisoners *Henrie* king of *Navarre*, and *Renée* the bastard of *Sauoy*, the kings uncle, & great master of his house: who dyed not long after among his enemies by an ague that grew upon him by reason of his wounde, and also *Montmorencie*, *Bri- on*, *Bozzolo*, *Obigny*, *Floranges*, who was Captaine of the *Switzers*. Fortune saued *Francis* of *Burbon*, Counte of *Saint-Paul*, lying grievously wounded among them that were slayne, when that a *Spaniard* did cut off his finger as though he had bene deade, that he might haue his ring. With contrarie fortune *Lescunier* whom name of the French nobilitie did excell in strength of bodie, and valor of heart, being shot into the hyppie with a great pellet, dyed of his hurt at *Pauia*, within nyne dayes after. They report that when as he lay sore greued with his deadly wound, and the Emperiall Captaines, and namely *Gust* often visited him, he bitterly cursed *Bonnet*, and his pestilent nature, and sayd moreover, that he sought for him in that infortunate field, that he myght reuenge the publike mischiefe with his infectious sword, for that he had through his peruerse counsels brought so great a foyle and dishonor vnto the French name, and namely vnto the king, who had nothing deserved it. There also perished the Counte de *Turenne*, a noble gentleman, and seigneur de *Turnen*, who had bene Generall with *Lescunier*, *Lescuniers* brother, in the warres in *Navarre*, at the which time they aduanced the French ensignes euen vnto the riner of *Ebro*, the *Spaniards* being then busied with ciuill warres and tumultes. *Turennes* body coulde not be founde. Onely the Duke of *Alanson* escaped away vntouched, with a mightie troupe of men of armes, that he might bring into France the newes of so great an overthrow, who perhaps would haue bene worthy of the singular prayse of prudence if that it might haue bene thought that he had fled rather to saue a companie of valiant men, for to succor France which was brought into greate lacke of good men of warre, than for to keepe himselfe harmelesse, and get him out of daunger, the horsemen following him because he was their Captaine. But *Alanson* dying within selue dayes after of great

The Battell of Pauye.

185

great grief of mind, *Roch de Mon* his Lieutenant defended & same of that returne by an honorable testimonie, which was : that he himselfe (who was a lustie couragious Gentleman, & an approved man in martiall skill) did reduce the horsemen home full soze against the will of *Alançon*, thinking, that seeing the victorie was past all hope, that necessitie was to be obeyed. *Appoquer*, when *Claramont* that laye in the Ile, perceived that he coulde bring no succour vnto the lost battell, encouraging his souldiours not to be dismayde with this cruell mishappe, but with confirmed and manly heartes, to followe the Ensignes, to winne safetie, and not doubtfull prayse by constant returne, educed his souldiours in warrelike order, and passing ouer the riuier, and cutting off the bridges after him, first came vnto the towne of *Moytarsin*, & afterwarde into *France* without any incommuditie. And the like did they that besieged the Castell of *Milan*, for they suppressing the fame of the receiued ouerthrow, and in the meane time spreading a false bruite of victorie, escaped away safe with all their bagge and baggage vnder the conduct of *Theodoro de Triunlzi*. But it is reported, that there were slayne in the battell to the number of ten thousande. And afterwarde the King to obtaine libertie, renounced for euer all his titles vnto *Naples*, *Milan*, and *Asti*, and the superiourtie ouer *Arrou*, and *flaunders*, and payde vnto the Emperour twelue hundred thousand crownes. But three things I do thinke worthy to be added out of *Ioissin*. The first, that the king tolde the Marques of *Guafo*, that he had thought assuredlye to haue died in the battayle, but that angrie fortune enuied him an honorable death, and reserued him lyfe against his will, for to be a gasing stocke vnto that scorning dame : the seconde, that the King being entred into talke with the Imperiall Captaines about the enent of this battell, affirmed, that if the battell had bene to fight againe, he woulde not doubt to vse the same order that he had done before, as the very best, but that he was deceiued by the *Switzers*, who had shamefully deceyued, not only his, but also all mens opinion, and that he was competously defrauded by the *Italian* Captaines, who did take wages for a great

reimber in) than they had in their bandes. Finally that he was so hastily forsaken by the thirde battayle of the hoysmen. And the thirde thing that I note is, that all which he had written, and namely of this battell, he had learned it by the report of the greatest Princes and Captaines themselves, whose great friendship and familiaritie he had deserued and gotten, that he might be able to write the truth in his hystories. But in that long and harde studie of honest labour, no man did more freely and eloquently fauour him, than *Francis* the French king, who told him all things with maruellous order and vpight truth of the success of the warres, and namely of this battell, first at *Marsiles*, and afterwarde at *Nizza*, with his so greate admiration, that those things which were vncertaine and obscure, he conferring them with the testimonies of his enemies, founde them to be most true and playne.

¶ *The Battell of Nugas in Hungarie,*
fought in Anno domini. 1526. betuene So-
lyman the great *Turke*, and *Leues* the king of Hungarie.



Anno domini. 1526. *Leues* the King of Hungarie hauing intelligence that *Solyman* the *Turke* was sette forwarde from *Constantinople* with a myghtie power, to inuade Hungarie, sent *Legates* in vaine, vnto all the Princes of *Chriftendome* for aide, and summoned an armed parliament after their order, where the Bishops brought the bands that they were bounde by the tenure of their lands to finde scarce halfe full, and also lesse money than they ought. But the nobles of the *Temporaltie*, as they that had forgotten the olde discipline of warre, and had neuer seene the Campe of the *Turkische* kings, but vsed to fight by incursions in skirmishes, did of a certaine arrogancie naturally ingrafted in their proude heartes, so

contemne the *Turkes*, that they boasted that they would with a small power ouerthrowe and destroye in a pitched fildes, yea, a mightie armie of *Turkes*. And among all other, *Paule Tomorrey*, a frier, Archbishop of *Tolosse*, who in roades had vsed often to skirmish, was caried with so great fiercenesse of minde, and so great desire of hoped victorie, that he made many sacred sermons vnto the souldiours to encourage them to fight, and promised that he himselfe inflamed with religion, would breake his unsellous staffe first before all the Nobilitie, on the front of the *Turkish* battels. A little before they had leuied with the Popes money certaine bandes of *Almaines* and *Bohemians*, with whose garde they thought that the battell of their hoysenmen might be established, and the force of the *Barbarians* susteyned. For neither, yea by a very diligent muster could they finde that there in their were any both of hoysenmen and footmen fife and twentie thousand souldiours: so that the desperatenesse of *Tomorrey*, and the rashnesse of the rest of the Captaines that requested the battell, was greatly condemned by the olde souldiours, who sayde, that it was most miserable to encounter with that enimie, who would bring into the battell a power eyght times greater than theirs. Wherefore some thought it good, that the yong King should be remoued out of the imminent daunger. *Stephan Verber* counselling in haire, that for the publike safctie, the person of the yong King should be kept in the castell of *Ofen*, without the halsarde of fight, for both the euentcs of the battell. But the enraged souldiours cried oute against it, and sayde, they would not fight vnlesse the King led them. Then *Tomorrey* speaking his opinion, obteyned that they should fight out of hande, and the noble King vnder the defence of the great God, should go forth against the enimie to giue the signall of the battell. So with frantike fense and unluckye aduise *Leues* marched euen vnto *Nugas*, which is a small towne abnostte middle waye betwene *Ofen* and *Belgrade*. Howe the *Turkish* auantgarde appoched very neare, when that the Christians consulted whither it were best to keepe them selues in their campe, emiured round with wagens on the banke of *Thunaw* untill that the power of *John* the *Vernode* or Leutenant of *Zipserland* were

come, who was reported to haſte thither with great ſourneyes. But *Tomorey*, who ſhould obey the *Eleiwoode* if he were come, by reaſon of the dignitie of his office, blaming all cauſe of ſtay that he might ſtill retayne the gouernement of the arme for hope of victorie, and haſting headlong to his fall, ſo withſtoode this wholeſome counſell, that he brought the vniuerſe king into a verie vnequall hazard of battell. For the *Turke* had ſent foure battells of horſemen beſore, who by courſe diuiding betwene the houres of the day and night, ſhould continually moleſt the *Kinges* Campe on all ſides. And they beſieged it ſo ſtreightly, that no man durſte to go forth either for ſewell or forrage, no nor vnto the neare banke of the river of *Thonaw* to water his horſe, but that he fought with great daunger, and diſadvantage, by reaſon of the multitude of the *Turkes*. Whrough the which neceſſitie *Tomorey* was forced to arrange his battayles, and to fighte a pitched ſielde for the auncient honour of that Nation, beſore tyme inuincible, and the dignitie of the *Kings* name. The ſozme of the battaile, or the arraye, was almoſte ſingle; that is to witte, the bandes of the ſotemenne were ſtretched forth in a long ranke, and in commodious places, the horſemen were interlaced, that the *Barbarians* overmatching in number, ſhoulde not incloſe the whole battayle, and the *Hungarians* be forced to fighte almoſte in a ring. The Campe and tentes being entrenched with chayned wagons, were leſte on the ryghte bande with a ſmall bande to guarde them, and neare vnto the trench had *Tomorey* placed not with abſurde conſaple, a bande of choſen horſemen, that the King might be defended by their ſtrong and readye garde againſte all vncertayne chaunces. But that daye, vnluckye vnto the *Hungarian* name, and moſte vnforgunate vnto the King, overthrewe this laſte wholeſome deuyce, for at the verie firſte encounter, although the greates ordinance of the *Turkes* being leuelled to hitte, did no hurte, yet were our battayles withoute any labour quite overthrowne, namelye *Tomorey*, and almoſt all the nobles of the *Hungarians* being ſlaine, and the *ſarones* (whiche are the light horſemen of the *HUNGA-*

rians being scattered and put to flight, and with them all the rest of the horsemen being souly discomfited and slayne. In this so greate asperitie of fortune, when that a troupe of *Turkische* horsemen hadde galloped to risse the tentes, and they were hardlye defended by the garde that was placed in them, that bande of chosen horsemenne, the whiche (as I sayde befoze) shoulde haue bene a garde vnto the King, coulde not conteyne themselves, but brake oute vpon the assaulting *Turkes*, that they myght saue the Campe. In the same moment of halfe an houre, King *Lewes* siring all his power in all places beaten downe, and also being bared of them, whome he had hoped and prepared for his garde, did begynne to flee, but his headstrong horse turning on one side, did cast him into a Marishe, where he was downed. Then the *Turke* prosecuting the victorie, toke *Ofen*, the chiefe Citie of *Hungarie*, where he bidde no more harme, but only toke out of the castell thre goodlye statues of brasse, set by by the famous King *Marthe*, and then returned to *Constantinople*, leauing *Hungarie* to be almost quite des troied by ciuill dissention.

¶ A Battell foughte on the sea in Anno domini. 1528. at the Cape of Orso in the kingdom of *Naples* betuene *Vgo de Moncada*, and other Imperiales, and *Philippino Doria*, for the French King *Frauncen* the first.



Then the Lorde *Lautrech* Generall for the French King had giuen the acme of the Emperials out of the citie of *Rome* whiche they had sacked into the Citie of *Naples*, he sent for *Philippino Doria* Viceadmiral vnto *Andrieu Doria*, the French Kings high Admiral in *Italy*, to bessege the citie by sea. By whose coming with viij. galleis, he thought al hope of victuals by water would be cut away: so

13b. ij.

much

much the rather, bicause the newes was, that the *Venetian* flæte (their confederates) of twentie galleys woulde shortly passe the *Faro of Messina*, to annoy and keepe the sea coast of the kingdome of *Naples*. The Emperjall Captaines being moued with the report of these newes, thought it for their safetie to fight with the *Geneweyes*, before that the *Venetians* were passed the *Faro*. The Emperials had onely five galeyes, and two foysses, but trusting to the baloo of their souldiours, and to foure long boates of great shippes, whome they had fraught with Harquebusiers, and other small vessels, whome they call frigates, they nothing doubted to fight with the *Genouese*, for the floure of al the *spanish* souldiours was embarked with the marques of *Gnast*, the generall of all the *Italian* & *spanish* footemē, who had gone aborde the Admirall galley with *Vgo de Moncada* the viceroy of *Naples*. For *Dorbine* p master of the campe had diligently chosen man by man the most valiant souldiours, and those that had bene accustomed vnto the *spanish* seas, and among them the most forwarde petie Captaines and Ensigne bearers, whome he knewe coulde bryoke the lothsomnesse and tossing of the sea. There also went aborde *Ascanio de Colonna*, the Loyde high Constable of the kingdome of *Naples*, and many other noble men of their owne fræ will, as doubting nothing of the victorie. And least that the *Almaynes* shoulde giue place in prowes vnto the *spaniards*, about two hundreth of them vnder the conduct of *Conradine Glorne*, had filled two galleys, and with great cherefulness rowed vnto the *Isle of Crapy*, and there at a pleasant spring, long and sumptuously banketted, yea and heard *Bareffa* a *Portugall*, (who had built him a Cottage or Cell in those solitarie rocks) preach vnto the, he behemētly adhorted the to vse their ancient Valoy, & being myndeful of the pietie that they ought to beare to wards their countrie, to reuenge those cruel *Geneweyes*, and by valiant victorie to deliuer out of miserable and infamous bondage so many valiant *spaniards* whome the mercilesse *Geneweyes* kept tied with chaines for galley slaues, afflicting them with continuall stripes and reproches. While that *Bareffa* preached in this maner both long and hotely, *Biardo Agnelli*, a *Neapolitan*, not so much addicted vnto the *French* faction, as offended with the arrogantie

rogancie of the *Spaniards*, tooke a small swifte Boate, and fletwe
vnto *Doria*, giuing him intelligence of the number, furniture, and
Captaynes of the Emperiall flæte. Noe long after the Emperial
naue departing from the Isle, with manie flagges hanged out,
came vnto sight of *Doria*, who was then about a small furlong
called by the *Partners* the Cape of the *Beare*, or *Orso*, not farre
from the famous promontorie now called *Campanella*, and in an-
cient time *Athenens*. This braue shew of the enemies their flæte
seemed not a little to haue moued the *Genueoyes* at the first sight,
but anon after the skilfull sea men did contemne them, and not
fondly, bicause they had not according to the discipline of the sea,
places on the tops of their Gallies for men to stande in and fight.
But then *Philippino* assembling together all the Captaines and
Maisters in the Admirall galley, spake almost these words vnto
them, shewing with his finger the flæte of his enemies comming
towards them: Valiant fellows (sayd he) and good countrymen
of innincible prowes, a great honor is set before vs (as I see) by
almost a certaine victorie, like that we doe surpass in number of
galleyes, and all partiall furniture, yea and courage of hearte
and skill in sea fight. Let our enemies in Gods name be, as they
doe boaste of themselves, noble warriors by lande, doubtlesse
they will not be able in confliate by sea, eyther readily to traueise
their grounde, or yet to caste themselves into rings, seeing that
they shall fight among the benches of the rowe slaues, and on the
streight hatches, and must receiue the pellets of the Cummes, as
chaunce shall bring them, no place being left eyther to retire, or
to leape aside, namely the great number of the rowers empea-
ching them: So that they lying open vnto strokes, and being ter-
rified with their daunger, will not be in any wise able eyther to
stande stoutly, or to chaunge their place politikelly. Therefore
seeing that we must not once thinke of retiring backe, and least
we doe incurre dishonor, must needs fight with our offered en-
emies: persuaide your selues that the glorie of our ancestors got-
ten by so many prosperous confliates by sea, is reposed in your
valiant handes and skill. This glorie (as I thinke) ought euery
good Citizen, not only to conserue, but also to augment, least that
otherwise

otherwise we may be thought both of our fellows, and also of our enemies to be degenerates, and men forgetfull of our discipline. But thinke that *Andrew Doria* our Admirall is present, & will be a witness of prowess & cowardise, so to giue rewards vnto the valiant, or by equal right, ignomie vnto the cowardes. The Captaynes and Masters gaue such a shout as the cherefull and greedy of fight doe vse, and in fewe wordes setting order holwe to receyue and inuade the enemy, returned vnto their galleyes, that they might aptly make readye all things whiche shoulde be needefull for the instant fight. The summe of their speedie decre was this: that *Philippino* shoulde directly go against the enemy with his five galleyes, but *Nicolas Lomellino* rowing into the mayne sea with his three galleyes, shoulde fetch a compass about, and after the confite was begon, in commodious time, couragiously runne vpon the deckes and sides of the enemies their galleyes, and chiefly of the Admirall, *Philippino* launching forth from the forlande into the open sea, offered himself vnto the confite, neyther did *Vgo* refuse it, and the rather so, that he belueued, that those three galleyes of *Lomellino*, whom we spake of, had fled away for feare, and did thinke that the five of *Philippino* shoulde fight with him much ouermatched. When they dyewe neare, and bothe the Admirall galleyes directed their stemmes for mutuall encounter, *Guafo* with wholsome counsell adhozted *Vgo* to hasten first to shote off his great gunne called a *Basilisco*, that the thicke smoke thereof might take away from the enemy all certaine stroke. But *Vgo* (who woulde be accounted very skilfull in sea affaires, and a little before had gaine sayd at the Isle of *Crapi* all the olde maisters of the galleyes, who dissuaded the fight, byzapping them with cowardise) deferred so long to shote, that *Philippino* being very diligentely intentiue therfore, and aptly leuelling the first shotte of his *Basilisco* with piercing the Emperfall Admirall, passed from the stemme to the decke, slaying thirtie men, and among them *Peter of Cardonna*, a kinsman of *Guafo*, and *Leo Tassino*, one bozne in *Ferrara*, who had layne vpon a quarrell betwene *Guafo* and the Duke of *Potenza*, the Duke his sonne, a gentleman of great hope, and *Gus-*

The Battell of Orso.

193

man a Spaniarde, a gentleman that played very excellently on the Cittron. But the *Basilisco* of the Emperiall Admirall did no great harme vnto the *Genoues*, bicause that the Gunner coulde not see howe to shote right for the smoke of the *Genoway* peece, and also the *Genoues* laye not so open as did the *Spaniardes*, vpon the open hatches, but being defended with a sure netting made of strong bowdes, shot with Harquebusses a croke out of loope holes, they themselves being safely couered. But in the meane time thre of the Emperiall galleyes, of whome one was called the *Gibba*, the maister whereof was *Iustinian* a *Genoway*, but the Captaine of the souldiours, was *Cesar Feramusca*, the other two, the *Secamia*, and the *Villamarina*, so called of their valiant maisters *Secamo* and *Villamarino*, ranne vpon two of *Doria* his galleyes, named the *Pilgrime* and the *Handmaide*, and fight very vehemently, and the hardie *Spanishe* souldiours leape into them, when *Lomellino* sawe this, he timelye turned his course, and at one time his thre galleyes, discharged their thre *Basiliscos* vpon the Emperiall Admirall. The *Moore* hitting the decke, strake off the rudder. The *Neptune* slaying certaine of the galley slaves, did so shake the Masse, that the sayles yards fell downe, and oppressed manye with the fall, and among them *Hierome* of *Trani*, who had succeeded his father *Antonello* in the office of Maister of the ordinance vnto the Emperour. Finallye the *Mistres* brake of the Emperiall beake, and soze annoyed the *Stemme*. Neyther stayed they, but speedily rowed for to ayde the *Pilgrime*, and the *Handmaide*, that were nowe bourded. Then the *Moore* turning about hir selfe verye artificially, discharged such a tempest of small and meane shot, which fell as thicke as hayle vppon the *Gibba*, that she was brought into great daunger. For besides the slaves and the Mariners, and souldiours foully slayne, *Cesar Feramusca* was also bozne over the bowde deade with a shot of a small Falcon, and *Iustinian* the Maister was shot into the thigh, and *Baredo* a Captaine of an hundred Harquebusiers, was hurte with thre deadly woundes. In another quarter two Emperiall galleyes called the *Perpenniana* and the *Oriana* encountered with the *Mermayde* and the *Fortune*, whom when they had much endan-

Cc.

maged,

maged and almost boured, they seeing the discomfiture of these
 fellows, left and fled awaye in safetie: so they despayring of
 the victorie, because they saw the baner of the Admirall throught
 down, and the *Secamie* and the *Willamarina* circumvented, and the
Pilgrime and the *Handmayde* whom they had boured recovered,
 and the small flete of long Boates and Foyles scattered, had
 chosen rather to save themselves for the Emperour, than with
 the rest to fall into the same mischaunce of aduerse fortune: al-
 though that this counsell, as to sone put into practise was bla-
 med of many. Incontinently after the sight of these two gal-
 leyes, the victorie was graunted vnto *Philippino*: for *Vgo* being
 slayne with a small Falcon, *Guisto* being greuously burnt with
 wilde fire in the necke neare vnto the eare, and also his helmet
 soze battered to his heade by stones, and other things throwne
 downe from the toppes, and *Ascanio de Colonna* being wounded
 in the right hande, and in one of his fete, yelved themselves
 vnto *Lomellino*. In the winning of this victorie the galley slaues
 of the *Moares* and *Turkes* stode *Philippino* in great streede. For
 when *Philippino* had promised them libertie, and had taken off
 their chaynes, and weaponed them, and adhoorted them as the
 fierce enemies of the *Spaniardes*, and namely of *Hugo* to fight lu-
 stily: they couragiously leaped vnarmed into the enemies gal-
 leys, armed only with sworde and target, fighting very fierce-
 ly. On the Emperors side were lost about seauen hundred old
 souldiours *Spaniardes*, besides so many Mariners and slaues, but
Philippino the victor lost of all sortes five hundred, and among
 them diuers skilfull Mariners, but no master of any galley, but
 only one. Of the Emperors, two galleyes, one Foyl, one Bri-
 gantine, and certaine long Boates were drownded, two fled a-
 waye, and the two other were taken, and one of them was the
 Admirall. Of the Emperors were slayne besides *Vgo*, and *Fera-
 muscu*, the stoutest Captaines of bandes, *Macinio*, *Dais*, *John Bis-
 caine*, *Zambron*, and *Bar. d*: But there was taken a line besides
Guasto, and *Ascanio de Colonna*, *Franco Hirarde* the master of a
 galley, the brother of the Captaine of the Castell of *Naples*, who
 had the brawne of his fatte buttocke stroke off with a peece of

The Battell of Landriano. 195

ordinaunce, Philip Cerbellion, Iohn de Gaietta, Monsieur de Perreis a Flemming, Monsieur de Acogne a Frenchman, who had fled cut of Fraunce with the Duke of Burbon, and Sereny a Spaniarde, scribe vnto the Senate of Naples, and worthy knightes Camillo de Colonna, and Aniball de Genari. The rest of the perie captaines, Ensignebearers, and souldiours, that were not maimed wyth woundes, were incontinently put in chaines, and turned to the Dare, in the place of the rowling slaues that had bene slayne in the fight, and the Turkes and Moores that for their valiant seruice were made free. Not only no profite, but great incommoditie fell vnto the Frenchmen by this victorie. For when Francis the French is requested of Andreu Duria to haue his noble men taken in this battayle, to be deliuered vnto him, Andreu renouled vnto the Emperour, and caried all Genoa with him, the which hath continued euer since faithfull vnto the Emperour and his house. And also a great mortaltie rising in the French Camp, the power was utterly defeated by the Imperials.

¶ Of the Battell of Landriano in the Duchie of Milan, fought Anno domini. 1529. betvvene Antonie de Leua general for Charles the Emperour, and Francis of Burbon, Conte of S. Poule, general for Francis the French King,



The Conte S. Poule, and the Duke of Urbino Generals for the French king, and the Seignorie of Venice, after that they had wonne Pavia, for the behaue of Francis Forze, now oppressed by the Emperour, understanding that Antonie de Leua the Imperiall Captaine had a great power of souldiours in the citie of Milan, the which they had meante to haue besieged, thought it best to besiege it farre off after this maner: That Urbino shoulde go backe vnto Cassano, vpon Adda, Et. y. and

and suffer nothing to be brought into the Citie out of the mosse fertile Countrie of *Martia*, but in another quarter *S. Poule* should lie at *Abiato*, and cut off all viuals that might be brought vnto *Milan* by an arme of the riuer of *Tesino*. For they did hope, y^e their enemies which coulde not be subdued by force, woulde not be able to abide the incommodities of a long siege. This being determined at a village called *Landriano*, ten myles from *Milan*, *Vrbine* dislodging, marched vnto *Casano*, admonishing *S. Poule* with equall digresse to bende his iourney to *Abbiato*. But the day being well spent, *S. Poule* sayde, that he woulde not remoue that daye, but woulde go the next morow vnto *Pavia*, and leaue there certaine great ordnance, and other weightie cariages. But *Leua* who most diligently watched for all occasion to hurt his enemies, vnderstanding that *Vrbine* was departed from *S. Poule*, and conieapring that the French men would not speedily set forward, called together all the Captaines, and commaunded them to be in a readinesse with all their souldiours, to go forth with him about one of the clocke in the morning, cohorting them to go this iourney chearefully, and promised to giue them for a bootie the vanquished french men befoze the sunne arose. But if (sayd he) they do more hastily flee (as surely I do not thinke but they will) yet the fayle of them will fall vnto vs for an assured bootie. The souldiours crying out, answered, that he shoulde procede to conceiue in his mightie minde, valiant actes, correspondent to his former victories: for they woulde with chearefull and fearelesse heartes take vpon them this dangerous iourney, and doubtfull halarde that he had commaunded them. And without stay he putting on his glittering armour, (althoughe he were tormented with the payne of the goutte almost in euery ioynt) sent the horsemen befoze, and he himselfe with two battels on eith side, the *Almaines* on the one side, and on the other the *Spaniards* flanking the *Italians* that were appointe to the garde of the great ordnance, hasted to the enemies, whome he founde not yet remoued, and busied about dispatching away of their baggage. *S. Poule* who had thought nothing lesse than that *Leua* woulde come vpon him, with all his power aranged in battell when he was preparing to dislodge:

dislodge: seeing (the sunne was now risen) the battells of his enemies with shirtes over their armour, after the manner of them that give a Camisado in the night, was astonied, and as it doth commonly happen vnto those that are so caught vnwares, was attached with great feare, and not without cause: namely, for that he had commaunded the Conte *Guido de Rangoni* to go before with the auantgarde vnto *Pavia*, and there to prouide lodging for him and the rest of the armie. Thus he being vnprepared, and vnreadie, and also disioyned farre from the forewarde, was circumuented with so greate perturbation of the middle battell and rerewarde, that he was forced with wonderfull vprore, and tumultuously to set his men in arape, and in bayne to repugne, being quite put out of heart by the violence and celeritie of his vying enimie. Fortune also gave *Lena* space to winne the victorie by an vnlooked for chaunce. For when one of the great peeces had broken his wheele, and fallen in the middes of a dirtie waye, it was a great discommoditie vnto them, for the French horsemen, pea, and the best of them were lighted on sote to lifte vp and amende it. For by an olde vsage of theirs, they doe accounte it a great dishonour to leane any of their ordinaunce behinde them as they march, to be gotten by the enimie. Although this staying both *Rangoni* was gotten so farre before, that he coulde neyther be called backe, nor in time tolde of the sodaine comming of the enimie: and also *Lena* had time to bring forward his footemen, who being aduanced forth, and the horsemen fighting very courageously, the middle battell of the Conte *S. Paule* with whom the rerewarde had also ioyned, began in a moment of time both to turne their backs. Whenthat *Antonie de Lena* cladde in gyltting armour, and adorneed with a brane crell, commaundeth himself to be brought into the forefront boznie by force of armie, with terrible voice adhorteth his souldiours, and with the first he men with his fierce lookes and fierie eyes. In the meane tyme the *Almaines* that serued the French king (a thing which had almost neuer happened at other times, shamefully turned their backs, as they that were of the *omnigardians*, that had in former time serued the French King, or else had bene taken by in the region

Cc.iiij.

which

which is on this side the Rhein, and both aboutte upon Loreine, who
have no greate estimation for *Almaine* valor and discipline,
The *Almaynes* and the French footemen, and after them also the
Italian bandes followed without any care had of dishonor, and
for all was the slaughter, because that neyther the harquebusiers
coude shute among the confounded and blended ranks, nor the
great ordnance be discharged without equall perill. The *Conte*
S. Paul: assaying daungerously to take a ditch with his horse, was
taken by the horsemen, nor far frō him the valiant *Claude de Ran-*
goni, the Captaine of the rerewarde had the like lucke, but *Ste-*
phan de Colonna escaped, although he had bene cast by his horse
headlong into a ditch. *Lewa* hauing gotten all the Ensignes and
ordnance, and taken the Generall prisoner, warne great esti-
mation in the worlde. But the French men openly complayned
of *Guido de Rangoni*, whome they sayde had left them to the spoyle
through his ouer hastie posting: but *Guido* defended his honor by
allegding the commendement of his Generall: chalenging all
his obtrectors to the combat, But afterwarde in familiar talks,
the Duke of *Urbine* decided this controuersie (both *Lewa* and the
Marques of *Guallo* assenting vnto him) who gaue iudgement,
that they had both with almost equall error swarued from the
discipline of warre, the which both will that in marching, the
Captaines that leade diuine and seuerall bandes, doe with mu-
tual diligence, by horsemen ryding to & fro, measure the march,
nor suffer the Ensignes to go any thing out of sight: & auantgard
to obserue with what pace the middle battell marcheth, and so
likewise the middle battayle the rerewarde, that euerye battayle
maye be ready at hande so: al sodeyne incursions of the enimie,
and to succoure that battayle which is circumuented: and finally
to fight with all their power vniued into one. This victorie vtter-
ly destroyed the French power in *Asilan*, and made *Francis*
first whome the French King maintayned, to
come in, and suppliantly yeele him
selfe into the Cap-
perour,

¶ The Battell of *Frumentaria* fought on
the sea by *Rodoricke Portundo*, Admirall
vnto *Charles* the fifth, and *Aidin*, and other miscreant Pirates,
in Anno Domini. 1529.



After that *Rhodoricke Portundo* had brought *Charles* the Emperour out of *Spayne* into *Italie* to be crowned. He in his returne, hearing that fiftene vessels of the *Turkes* and *Adoores* *Corsales* were besore the *Isle* of *Frumentara*, came into greate hope to oppresse them. Wherefore of his fiftene galleys, he chose out eyght of the strongest, and furnished them with the rowers and souldiers of the rest of his galleys, and obtayned of the Captaine of the *Isle* of *Ibiza* about a hundred and fiftie valiant souldiours, whom he bestowed in his galleys. *Portundo* being thus augmented & strengthened, was fully resolved to fight with the *Barbarians*, and setting all things in a readinesse, departed about the thirde watche from *Ibiza*, and made towards *Frumentara*, which was ten miles off. The *Barbarians* seeing galleys comming, speedily got them a boorde, and prepared to fight. But when it waxed light, *John Portundo* his sorne numbred the name of his enemies, and therefore admonished his father not hastily to fight being overmatched in number. *Portundo* vehemently and bitterlye reuled him as a coward, and that so insolently, that he swore he was not his son, who feared his enemies, who were furnished only with *Foxstee* & *Bigantines*, so that, yea he himsele alone would with his only Admirall galley drystone all those small vessels of the *Barbarians*. *Portundo* was in dede a man of a noble and stoute courage, but very lostie and proude: and so through vaine boasting being made obstinate, wilfull, and vntameable, no consideration either of assured or very harde danger, nor any horrible shewe of pre-

200 *The Battell of Frumentaria.*

sent perill presented coulde feare him. Then his sonne (who was both of surpassing prowes, and also prudence) replied: God graunt (father) if we may rather be ashamed of our conceiued feare, than sorrowfull for our soyle. But *Portundo* made such haste towardes the enimie, that he was farre before the rest of the galleys who were not able to rowe so fast, and looking back, commaunded the slaues in his Admirall to cease rowing, that the rest might ouertake him, and they were called vnto both by voyce & whistle, to make halt, that they might make front with the Admirall. *Aidin* of *Smirna* the Archpyrate, who, was surnamed *Cocciadiabolo*, seeing the vnequall course of his enimies, and that one comming behinde another, they coulde not make front with the Admirall, calling together the souldiours and maisters, with speedie deliberation resolued vpon this counsell, that the stronger foytes shoulde runne directely vpon their enimies with their stemmes, but the smaller shoulde every two on both sides lay aborde one of their enimies galleys. Friendly fortune fauoured the Pirates, but was a cruell foe to the christians. For *Assanes*, *Celebino*, and *Solyman*, the moste desperate and fiercest fighters of the Pyrates, at one time ranne vpon the Admirall, one on the side, and the other on the stemme, and before that succor coulde come, thus *Portundo* with all the souldiours, and toke the Admirall galley, so that sodenly the banner was throwne downe, the which did muche diminish the courage of the rest, and with the like speede did *Aidin* himselfe lay aborde the Cocks, the Captaine whereof was *Iohn Canticler*, who was slayne, with all his men. In the same moment of time, another Pirate called *Salec*, ballantly setting vpon the galley of *Dertiosa*, the Captaine whereof was *Iohn de Ciueres*, and also the next therevnto, wherein was *Iohn Portundo* his sonne, toke them both, *Ciueres* being slayne, and *Iohn* taken, and all the souldiours slayne. In the same moment of halfe an houre, *Mathewe Sanees* was slaine by *Saba* a Pyrate, and his galley taken. But *Naggalli* did so hotely pursue the hindermoste of the Spanishe galleys that fledde, that one, wherein was *Martine Oriego*, he losse, but the other wherein was *Iohn de Cordona*, he forced to runne himselfe

selfe dyot the roches: the galley was taken, with the captaine; who woulde not flye away after so soule an overthrowe, but all the rest fledde out of hir, but were so fiercely followed by the Pyrates (who also went a thoye) that manye more were taken than escaped.

**The Battell of Gabiniano, fought be-
tweene Philibert Prince of Orange generall
for the Emperour Charles the v. and Fernao a Captaine of the
Florentines, in Anno. 1530.**



Vno domini. 1530. the Florentines being
streightlye besieged by the power of
Charles the Emperour (whose general
was Philibert Prince of Orange, for ba-
nishing the familie of the Medici, sent
for a Captaine of theirs called Fernao,
who had gotten great glory of late for
the vallant recovery of the city of Ro-
ma from the Imperials; and also
for no lesse famous defending thereof agaynst them, that he
with his power assaulling the Imperials without on one
side, and the garrison of the Citie sallying but on the other, some
fortunate fight might be committed, to deliuer their countrie
from the imminent perill of lacke and seruitude. Fernao accord-
dingly gathered his power together, which was thre thousand
footemen, and of armit horsemen and Epyrotes, or Albanyses
vnarmed, fife hundred; the Captaine of the Epyrotes was Ni-
colas *Alafio*, surnamed *Pulchro*. But of the other horsemen Charles
earle of *Castella*, and *Amico Asula*. Besides this power, he had
also sollicitd the Mountaine men about *Assia*, of the Cancel-
larie faction, who as they had promised, were taken for to be
press to ioyne with their countreymen, wherby marched that
waye. He had also layde on Sumpter horses aboue an hundred
trunkes of wyld fire, and also ten paces called *Spischattes*, the

Do.

which

which being layde vpon reues of woods, are commonly vsed to be a garde in shewings for the hostemen against the violence of the hostemen. With this power and furniture, and a certaine prouision of victuals, and specially of Bisket, as much as might suffice the souldiours, passing through the woods and mountaynes (if that they coulde finde none other victualles among those more mountayne men) he did set forth from *Pissa*, and turning towarde certaine of the Captaines, spake these wordes: (O my valiant heartes) we are commaunded to go, neyther must any imminent violence of daunger be feared, seeing that we muste in any case obey the Senate, who doe maintayne and finde vs, and both repose the hope of their supreme safetie in our noble valiance. He seemed vnto some not to haue spoken with his wonted chearefulness, as though he did abate howe unluckilpe he shoulde fight in a voyage that he made at other mens appointment and pleasure. In the meane time the prince of *Orange* hauing intelligence by spyes, of the intent and journey of his enemies, wrote vnto *Fabrizio Maramaldo*, and *Alexander Vitelli*, (who laye with their regiments in the territoze of *Pisa*) that with all possible speede they shoulde haste to cutte off *Ferraris* his iourney, and followe him at the harde heeles. There also followed *Vitelli*, a bande of *Spaniards*, who being put out of wages by the Emperours commaundement liued by robberie, them did *Vitelli* adhort to doe some good seruice in this voyage, whereby they might deserue pardon of their mutinie, and be interteroynd agayne into wages. The Prince also sent before out of the Campe, *Roscio* the Earle of *Sanseconde*, *Martio de Colonna*, and *Sculengo* with their regiments, and also adioyned *Theodoro Bisheimus*, the Captayne of the *Epyrote* hostemen, vnto *Roscio* his wing of hostemen. After them folowed a regiment of olde *Lancquenets*, and also he himselfe with all the light hostemen, and also the men of armes marching towarde *Pistoia*. He trauielling all night rayue vnto a place called *Lagoni*, almost mid way betwene *Pistoia*, and a towne named *Gabiniano*, where he stayed to refreshe the hosten with a little rest, and the souldiours with a light breakefast. While that he thus rested, there came a priest vnto

unto him running, who tolde that *Fernais* was at hande, and had entred, sacked, & burnt the towne of *S. Marcelles*, out of the which he had hardly escaped: and moreover, that the Emperials were at the heeles of them, the which was knownen by the often crackes of the harquebusses. Then the Prince commaunded *Francis de Pratey*, and *Rossales Spaniards*, and *Zucero an Epirote*, to go before with all the light horsemen, to whom he added for a garde *Pompeio Farino*, with three hundred harquebusiers, and admonished them that still as they went, where-soeuer they founde the way narrowe, so that the horses coulde not well passe, that they shoulde place vpon commodious hilles certayne bandes of Harquebusiers, for this purpose, that if the horsemen after they were come into the sight of their enemies, chaunced to be pressed, then they might retire saye and softlye vnto those sure gardes: but if that they mette with anye leuell grounde, the which they sawe was commodious for horsemen, they shoulde stay the enimie so long by slowe skirmishing, vntill that he were come with the men of armes. When the horsemen were come vnto *Gabiniano*, and coulde not be suffered to enter the towne, they turning about, rode vnder the wall of the towne towarde *S. Marcelles*, and began to skirmish with the auantcarrers of the enimie. For *Fernais* was minded to come vnto *Gabiniano*, thinking that his enemies woulde not haue mette him with so greate speede. Yet there had bene some, who being skillfull of the countrie, and hauing receyued more certain intelligence of the comming of their enemies, had counsayled him to climbe the high mountaynes besides *Saint Marcelles*, and so safely come downe agayne at *Scarparia*, the enemies not being able to pursue him in that very strayte and trouble-some way. To the which aduise inclined the valiant Captayne *Paolo de Cere*, who accounted the losse of the baggage but small, so that escaping their enemies, they might come in safetie to *Florence*. But *Fernais* with a loslie minde detesting that aduise which might giue some signe of feare and flight, marched still forwarde, the horsemen going before with their Captaines, *Charles the Earle of Cincilla*, and *Arfula*. And whereas *Gabiniano*

also is two myles from *S. Marcellus*, the auantgarde which *Aernarde Strozzi*, surnamed *Captmunge*, ledde, was come vnto the gate of *Gabiniano*, when the Ensignes of the recheuarde were set at *Saint Marcellus* gate. The waye is not verye yll, but that they must go a little downe the hill, for *Saint Marcellus*, which standeth in a lowe bottome enclosed rounde about with mountains, followe the Emperials, who as we haue tolde you, were sente before, molested the hindermost of the enimies. For *Rosco* had brought a bande of Harquebusiers with him, euerye horseman taking an harquebusier behinde him, who with their shot much vered the enimies. But when *Maramaldo* sawe that the enimies bended towardes *Gabiniano* from *Camalenha*, where they lodged the night before, he crossing ouer the mountaines and woodes, was come to *Gabiniano*. And also *Vitel* by another shorter waye, but verie yll, was encamped not farre from the towne. In the meane tyme *Fernaio* ryding on a whyte horse wyth his sword drawn, adhorted his men keeping their araye, to haffe to take the towne first, the whiche was then in sight, and to propell the vrging horsemen of their enimies, for the Earle of *Chitrella* and *Arsula* fighting with singular valloz, did not only susteyne their enimies, but also the charge, being on both sides often renewed along the sheluing bankes, forced their enimies to retyre with turned backs. Whyle that they thus fought with great tumult and noyse, for that certayne bandes of Harquebusiers had bene sent forth out of *Fernaio* his battell, and also the shotte of *Pompey* (who as we haue shewed you) had bene sent to be a garde vnto the horsemen, had intermedled themselves in the confliete of the horsemen, and nowe manye men had bene slain on both sides, when *Maramaldo* got into the towne at the farther gate, and at a part of the wall which was easilie throwne downe at the verie same time that *Fernaio* entred in at the foregate. And thus a cruell and bloudie fight was committed along the towne, so that they fought with great contention in the middes of the Market place: for *Fernaio* leaping off from his horse, and taking a footemans pyke, layde about him lustilye. Neyther sayled *Maramaldo* vnto his men, but casting them
into

into the forme of a wedge, fought fiercely to wyne the whole
 strete. In the meane tyme, part of *Fernais* his battell following
 their Captaine, fought valiantly in the towne, but part defect-
 ing along the towne wall, and having gotten a commodious
 place among the Chestnut trees to defende themselves against
 the insulting horsemen, overwhelmed their enemies with a
 great tempest of small shotte. By them (as it was afterwarde
 knowne) who were in number almost five hundred, was the
 Prince of Orange slayne, when he was with the men of armes
 to be present at the fight. Neyther was he streyght way known
 being speedily spoiled of his coate of cloth of silver, and his
 guiltie armour. They saye that before he was wounded, he
 foughte on horsebacke hande to hande with *Nicolas Masi* the
 Grecke, who battered his heade pece with a Hall of yron, and
Orange often assayed to thruste him through with his sworde.
 But *Masi* fearing the shooke of the men of armes, fledde
 backe vnto the Chestnut trees, but the Prince pressing forth
 overhardily, receyved two deadlie woundes by harquebuste.
 Almoste at the verye same time *Virelli* charging ouerthwarte
 the reerwarde, which *Paolo de Cere* ledde, did so breake their a-
 rraye, and scatter them almoste at the first encounter, that he
 gotte all their ensignes: although that *Paule* himselfe valiantly
 resisted, and lighting on fote, repayred the araye of his men,
 and also renewing the fight, brake throughte vnto the towne to
 ayde *Fernais*. But when it was bruted abroade that the
 Prince was slayne, and the troupe of the men of armes (a
 thinge shamefull to see, and incredible to be reported) was
 fledde backe headlong: *Fernais* crying victorie, victorie, gathe-
 red the *Florentines* close together, and beganne to presse on the
 appalled *Emperialles*. And if that the *Lansquenettes* (who
 had not yet stirred, but kept in araye not farre from the towne
 their Esquadron, as it were a Castell to receyue their fellowes)
 marching forwarde, had not repressed the tumultuous procu-
 rations of their enemies: doubtlesse not one of the horsemen had
 made curtisie to flee, seeing that many of them, & before all other

The Battell of Gabiniano.

Rossales following the example of Chiscera the captaine of the men of armes, fledde with continued course euen vnto the gates of Pistoia, with so great perturbation, that the same that the Prince was slayne, and his armie discomfited, was brought vnto Gonzaga, who laye in siege befoze Florence, and also vnto the Consaloner within the Citie. At the verve same moment of time, Vitelli pursuing a while, and byging and slaying the regiment of Paolo de Cere, as he entred the towne, did tymely hit vpon the gate where Maramaldo had entred, and then such a cruell fight was renued, that one coulde scarce passe along the stræte for the heapes of slayne men. But Fernao and Paule being tired with long fight, and the scorching heate of the mids of the day, took a high house, and from thence pelled the Imperials with harquebusses, untill that all their horsemen were ouerthrowen, and destroyed by the light horsemen of their enmities, who for shame would not followe Rossales when he fledde, but did cast themselves into thicke troups, and a little befoze the bandes which eyther coulde not enter the towne, or which had remayned without by Fernao his commaundement, and had slaine Orange, bling such Balles of yron, as the helmets coulde scarce resist, had bene ouerthrowne: neyther did the prepared trimkes of wyld fire do any great good that daye. For the Florentines coulde cast but fewe of them vpon the Almains and horsemen, neyther bicause their baggage was spoyled, and their Sumpter horses put quite out of order, coulde the Goshats be made readie, and layde on their restes, as they had trusted and hoped to haue done. When Fernao and Paule acknowledging the euent of aduerse fight, and fortune infectious vnto the Florentine name, all their soldours being either slayne or taken, and all the houses of the towne boigne and sacked, and Maramaldo havinge now gotten assured victorie, yelded himselfe, and incontinently Fernao was brought armes as he was, vnto Maramaldo, who sayd vnto him: when that thou didst lewdele hang vppon my Dynammie with an halter, against the lawe of armes, hadst thou thought euer to haue come into my handes? They answered Fernao: this is the chaunce of Warre, who is not alwayes wyngfull, and the like may also befall vnto

The Battell of Gabiniano.

207

to you, striding in the firme. But if that you murder me, you shal winne by my death, myther profitable, nor honourable praise, But *de arimaldo* reuiling and calling him a Captaine made of a Merchant, commaunded his helmet and his armour to be pulled off, and thrusting his sword into his throte, left him vnto the souldiours to be slaine. But afterwarde *Maramaldo* vled to save, that he shue him not for aneppiate quarrell, but to please the souldiours, and namely the *Almaines*; who woulde haue chased that the Captaine of their enemies shoulde haue bene saued, after that their so great a Generall was slaine. There were slayne in this conflict on both sides, little lack of y. *For* many died afterwarde of their woundes. And of the *Florentines*, Captaine de Borgo, and Francis, and *Paul* Corsi, Charles Earle of Cinsella, and *Alphon* Scipioiano, And of prisoners taken *Paule* de Cere, *Amico* Arfula, *Masio*, and *Captian* *Strozzi*. But there were slayne of *Maramaldo* his regiment, *Iohn* *Masio* his valiantest Captaine, and three Ensigne bearers. After this victorie, the despairing *Florentines* yielded their almost starued Citie, and whole oppressed state vnto the mercie of the Emperour, who depriued them of their libertie, and created *Alexander* de Medici, base sonne of yong *Lauronco* de Medici, Duke of Florence, and of all the dominions thereof.

¶ The Battell of Exech, fought in Hungarie betuene Cazzianer Generall for King Ferdinande, and *Mahomet* Lieutenant for *Solyman* the Turke, in anno. 1537. Out of *Somino*.



Nm. 1537. Ferdinande the Emperour sent *Cazzianer* the Captaine of *Vienna* into Hungarie, with a power of ten thousande horsemen of *Almaines*, *Hungarians*, *Bohemians*, and *Carinthians*, and fiftene thousande footemen *Almaines* and *Italian*, to winne the towne of *Exech* vpon the river of *Drava*, which *Mahomet* *Iahia* ogles the *Turkish* Captaine of *Bolgrad*,

grade, and Lieutenant generall of all those partes, had fortified in a parte of *Hungarie* called *Prossga*, and made it to be the seat of his warres, to bere the kingdome of *Hungarie*. But before that this armie coulde come vnto *Exech*, the sixtens thousande footemenne were brought through the sickness vnto eyght thousande, and the rest were also much weakened with diseases, the which incommoditie was also manifestably augmented through lacke of victualles: so that they were not so long come before the towne (wherein was *Mahomet* with sixtens thousande men) but that they were forced to breake vpp their sieg, and to retire backe vnto a towne called *Gara*, the *Turkes* pursuing, and continuallye skirmishing with them, in whiche skirmishes they slewe *Peter Raschinus* the Marshall of the *Bohemians*, and *Danle Barchinus* the Captaine of the *Hungarians*, one accounted the valiantest and most expert Captaine of that nation. And the Christians hearing by certaine rumors that *Mahomet* looked for newe and strong supplies of souldiours: the Christians fearefully decreed, that all the whole armie shoulde haste vnto a towne called *Valponi* ten myles of, where was store of victuals, leaving behinde them their great ordnance whiche coulde not be easily caried, and setting on fire all their gunpowder, and destroying all the rest of the partiall furniture of the armie, and all such baggage as coulde not be caried on horsebacke: and that *Cazzianer* shoulde giue the signall when they shoulde dislodge, with a kinde of Pye that the *Almaynes* vse, and is called by them *schalmeien*. Nowe was the time of the seconde watche almost spent, and all men watching, did so expect with hofull heartes the signall of dislodging, that they thought euery little moment of tariance to be a yeare, and very incommotions: and diuers Captaynes of great marke by franticke striking, brake off all stay, and hasted to depart without commandement, and to go before their fellows. They saye that this heinous & shamefull departure was begun by the light hoysenem of *Farones* of the *Hungarians*, who trusting to their knowledge in the blinde wayes and woodes, bent their course towardes *Valponi*, whome *Ladislaw More*, a noble man of *Hungarie* following

wing with dishonorable example, fled vnto his owne castell of *Zemmerzebeth*, and also all the horsemen of *Staermark* forgetting shame, with great tumult hastened after with their Captaine *John Hunganolt*, who had bene appoynted to leade and defend the rerewarde. In the meane time it was fearefullye reported vnto *Cazarian*, that the *Vsarones* were fledde, and that *Ladislawe*, and *Hunganolt* had done the same with the horsemen of *Staermark*, and that the rest of the armie neuer a whit expecting the sounding of the *Schalmeyn* (as it had bene decreed) made themselves readie for the same flight. Then the astounded and afrighted Generall, got him to horse, and forgetting to giue the signall (for he had surely thought (as he sayde afterwarde) that all the armie had bene already gone before) fledde away vnarmed, leaving behind his tent rich of siluer, plate, and other ornaments. In this hurly burly the Earle of *Lodron* Colonell of the *Lansquenets*, is waked out of his sleepe, and being tolde by his seruants that the Generall was runne awaye, he fearelesse answered, that it coulde not be that he woulde so shamefully and fallshly forsake them, and so as one greuously tired with watching many nights, and great toyle taken in the dayes, he returning into his tent, and laid him downe againe to sleepe. For long after the noyse and vproyse in the Christians their campe, is brought vnto the eares of *Mahomet*, who lodged within the shot of a small peece of ordinaunce, all the *Barbarians* rise vp, and prepare themselves to invade their enimies. But *Mahomet* thinking it good to knowe moze certainly what the enimies intended, and for that consideration the daye light was to be stayed for, commaunded his men to stande still in a readinesse, and with silence to expecte the signall which the vse was to be giuen throughout all the ranks, by the soft sounding of a drumme on horsebacke. For the olde Captaine, yea, and an olde man in dedde, who had bene practised in manye conflicts against our men, somewhat doubting it to be a feygned flighte, woulde not be drawne into fight, but in a place of greate aduantage for his men, as he that had bene fully resolved before, to obtaine the victorie not by fighting any vniuersall battell, but after his manner by fleeing the Christians by partes and peeces. At

The Battell of Exech.

the breake of the daye *Lodron* is called by againe, he heareth the noyse of the imminent *Barbarians*, and seeth that he was forsaken of farre the greatestt part of the horsemen: he in vaine complayneth that he was betrayed, yet his courage nothing quayleth, he speaketh vnto the footemen, and adhorteth them to be mynde full of their wanted p̄c̄wes, and to thinke that the daunger which frowarde fortune then broughte, was to be overcome by only fortitude of heart, that valiant men ought to mynde honest death, and not most shamefull flight, the which woulde also be vncertaine: that he himselfe who had often fortunately ledde them in many warres, was fully resolved by repulssing the enimies, to reduce them into safetie, or else honorably to ende his lyfe with them in valiant fight. The horsemen of *Carinthia*, *Saxon*, *Austreich* and *Boheme*, who like vnto obedient souldiers in wayne expected the signall of dislodging, appointed by the Generall, neyther woulde be companions of that shamefull flight, came vnto *Lodron* thus confirming his souldiours, as vnto the valiantest man, beseeching him that he woulde take vpon him the charge of Generall in the place of the traytour. For they woulde be obedient vnto all things that he woulde commaunde them, and as long as strength and weapons woulde endure and holde, woulde most constantly fight with the barbarous enimie for Chyistes religion and their very good King. *Lodron* woulde not take vpon him the offered office, professing of a certayne noble shamefastnesse, that he was vnworthie thereof, yet he of his pitie, and magnitude of minde pitying the vnworthie lot & case of so great an armie, exercised the charge, & which he toke vpon him with protestation, so long as fortune woulde licence. They report that when he made an oration vnto the souldiours, and detested and vehementlye discommended all hope of flight, there was an olde *Almaine* souldiour fownde, who durst to saye vnto him courteslye, but not vnwittilye: Flight, good Captaine my Lorde of *Lodron*, can seeme to be so shamefull a thing in you: when that you ryding on a godly horse may be thought to ride about to vewe who doe flie, *Lodron* vnderstode the wittie meaning of the olde souldiour,

our, and lighting downe on foote, buckened his horse with his
drawen sword, nobly crying out: This day (fellow souldiers)
shall ye haue me both captayne, and souldiour to fight with you
on foote with equall condicion. Therefore that ye may not seeme
to haue deceyued my opinion, valiantly endeuour to winne the
victorie, or else to ende your warfare with me by an honorable
death, and not vntreuaged. Whereouer, with like curtesie he gaue
the rest of his horses vnto the souldiours of his acquaintance,
that were weake eyther by woundes or sickenelle. The foremost
troupes of the horsemen, and the foremost bandes of the
footemen were scarce out of the munitions of the Campe, when
that the *Barbarians* with cruell howling spred themselves round
about our men, and their horsemen attached many skirmishes
at once in diuers places as our men marched, and with this
event, that our men sometimes egregiouslye sustayned their
charge, and at other valiantlye renning their onset, propelled
far from them the bging *Barbarians*. In these sundrie confictes
Anty Macer Eufstat, a *Saxon*, Captayne of the *Carintheans*, was
slayne, fighting very feruently, being taken by the *Turkes* to be
the Generall, by reason of the ornaments of his cognizances, &
with like lot were slaine aboue xxiij. horsemen of noble mark, &
their ensignebearer. Among who were ij. noble men, *Andrwe*
Rescht, *Christofer Hernaw*, & *George Hemelberg*. But in another place
a very bloudy skirmish was attached with the *Saxons*, the men of
Misne, *Thuring*, and *Frankland*, who followed the guidons of the
Saxon horsemen, for of them (who fought with singular prowes)
abouexxiij. of the galantest, eyther Captains, ensignebearers,
or Lieutenants of companies were slaine, & *Chwenrick* the chiefe
captaine of the *Saxons* was taken prisoner, and died afterward in
prison among the *Barbarians*. The men of greatest nobility of the
which were there slaine, were *Sebastian Meschese*, & *James Scullem-*
berg. And also with the same lot of frustrated valor, the *Austrian*
horsemen when they had resisted a good while, were at the last
slayne, after that *Nicolas Turrian* their Captaine escaping, many
men of great marke for valiance & birth had been slaine: as *Festay*,
& *Holchinch*, noble men, & next to them *Hohenfelder*, & *Aansfurger*,

The Battell of Execb.

and also two very heuious noble men of the house of Maideg, and with them *Lamberg* & *Veletz*, men of great worship. And also men bozne in the upper *Austrich*, *William Folgehensperg*, *Leonarde Lamberg*, *Gisspar Burgheim*, and *Schellemburg*, men famous for their dignitie at home, and also in the fildes. But farre the greatest slaughter was committed on the *Bohemians*, whome being disorderd by the *Tanizars* through continuall tempest of small shotte, sent ouerthwart them the olde troupes of *Turkische* horsemen, hotly charged and beate downe euery where with their heauy semitarrers, & pzon mallets, no mā succouring them when they were enclosed, and their Captaine *Albert slub* had soner got him out of the middes of the slaughter than he ought to haue done. But the battallion of footemen being afflicted with great detrimente, and bzought euen vpon the verve point to bzeake araye by the *Tanizars* and *Asappes*, who wonderfully annoyed them from a certain high banke of a wooddie *Parishe*, with their harquebusses and arrowes, but woulde not come to hand strokes with them. *Amurathes* invaded on the side with the horsemen of *Bosnie*, and quite disorderd, and defeated, beating them downe fiercelye with swordes and battell ares. *Lodron* himselfe was driuen by the violence of the horsemen into a spozilish and soule dirtie hole, where, when he being grievously wounded, and also muche encumbzed with the slipperie dirt, endeuoured to shewe his supreme valor, he was killed by the *Barbarians* rather to yelde, than to be slaine, the which he did, with three bandes of footemen, who were all that were left him: whom the *Barbarians* promised to saue, as men of singular valor. For nolue the vnnmercifull *Barbarians* embzued with the abundant bloude of our men, were gluttid with slaughter, in so much that many of their armes fainted, and they turned themselues very greedily vnto the pillage, following those that being disperfed some here some there, thought to haue escaped the enimies hands by faint and fearefull pace: with this successe, that many were taken prisoners to be made slaues, few footemen escaped, and almost all the rest of the horsemen that had not, as we haue tolde you, fled besore the battell, were lying slayne ouer all the whole filde. For this shamefull discomfiture at *Execb*, is

sayde to wast all the lamentable ouerthrowes that euer were gi-
uen to the Christians in former yeares : for the floure of the
hoplemen and footmen, were slayne and quite destroyed rather
through the rashnesse and fault of the Generall, than the prowes
of the enemies, so that it caused great lamentation almost in e-
uery countrie of Christendome. For it had neuer happened be-
fore, as one might see by the aduersé battels of *Sigismunde* the
Emperour, and king *Lewes*, that the *Barbarians* were both victo-
r, and also vnblondie ; so that our men which dyed at *Exech* vnre-
uenged, may seeme to haue much augmented the detrimēt receyued
with great ignomie. But afterwarde when it was thought that
Ferdan coulde not be caried alive vnto *Constantinople*, by reason of
his grievous wounds, he was slayne by his keepers, & his heade
sent thither. But *Cazimier* being cried out at by all men, as a
man vntwoorthie of light and life, requested of the King, that he
might safelpe come vnto *Venna* to cleare and acquite himselfe :
but when that the King gaue him but pll countenance, and com-
mitting certaine to attende vpon him for seeing a waye, defer-
red his triall, he being doubtfull of his safetie, priuily escaped,
and fled vnto *Mahomet*, by whome he was put in hope to haue
good intertainment of the grante Seigneur, and the whole coun-
trie of *Croatia* to holde it of him by homage, so that he would pro-
mise to his vttermoost to annoy the *Muslims*. But when he went
about to sollicite a familiar frende of his called *skrin*, a noble man
of that Province, to resolte also with him vnto the *Turke*,

he was slayne by him one night in bedde, and

his heade sent vnto King

Ferdinande.

¶ The Battell of *Buda* or *Ofen*, foughte
in Hungarie betweene Mahomer Bassa
Generall for *Solyman* the greate Turke, and *William*
Earle of *Rocandulph*, Chiefetaine for *Ferdinande* the King
of *Hungarie*, in Anno. 1451. Out of *Ionius*.



Then that in Anno 541 a great powere
of King *Ferdinandes* vnder the conduct of
the Earle of *Rocandulph*, besieged the citie
of *Buda* or *Ofen*, kept by the fauourers of
Steuens the yong sonne of *John* the *Pretorde*,
who had long contended with *Ferdinande*
for the kingdome of *Hungarie*, *Soliman* the
Turke sent a great armie ledde by *Mahomer*
Bassa to succour his vassall *Steuens*. This Turkysh powere with
whome also ioyned certayne *Hungarians* fauourers of the papill,
encamped neare vnto *Rocandulph*, and verie much vexed him
with often skirmishes, in whome the Turkes had most common
ly the better. The Turkes and their confederate *Hungarians* had
also brought thither a flete by the riuer of *Thonaw*, the which na-
me lay at a small Ilande called *Capella*, one right against their
armie by lande. But *Rocandulph* had a nautic stoye as great: for
he had xiiiiij. fragates, of great and small *Nasades* (a kinde of
shippes of warre used by the *Hungarians* in the riuer of *Thonaw*)
about foure score, and little fewer than an hundred hulkes &
barges. But after that many bloody skirmishes had ben fought
betweene the two armies, that lodged very nere one vnto the o-
ther. At last *Peren* captain general of the *Hungarians* in *Ferdinands*
campe, was frendly aduertised by *George Valentine* the Generall
of the *Hungarians* with the Turkes, that *Solyman* himselfe appro-
ched: wherefore he should prouide speedily for the safetie of him
selfe and his countreimen: Wherevpon *Peren* resorted vnto *Rocandulph*,
and the Captaynes, declared vnto them what newes
he had receyued, willed them speedily to depart thence, or else

he would not otherwayes hegle the safetie of his countreymen. Although that the opinions of the Captaines did varie, yet all were of this mynde, to remoue vnto Pest by night, only *Rocaulph* dissented; and flatly affirmed, that he would not departe from *Offen* withoute the commaundement of King *Ferdinande*. Whereupon the Earle of *Salme* was sent in a swift Frigate to *Vienne*, to bring from thence the Kinges resolution. In the meane time, feare bghting, and *Peren* chasing, they determined to waite ouer to Pest in the right season, when the Moone shined not, by foure passages: in the firste they embarked all their great ordnance, and the *Hungarians*: in the seconde, the *Almaine* and *Bohemian* horsemen: in the other two, all the footemen, and the bagge and baggage of the armie. *Batoke* an *Hungarian*, and *Balsazar Pocan* an *Almaine* had the charge committed vnto them, to transporte the armie without tumulte. Fortune fayled not vnto the first and seconde passage. For althoughe that when the Citizens of *Offen* and the *Turkes* salve from the high places all their enemies beuelles to be gathered together, did lightly suspect that, which was in verie dede, and euery man according to his heade, did adduce sundrie causes of thys newe vppore, yet they had no foresight of the sodeyne flight of their enemies, but it was not long vnknown vnto them, who didde intentiuelye and diligentlie sconte and prie: for two *Vsurones* flying from *Peren* vnto *Valentine*, gaue him intelligence of the intent of their enemies, and *Mahomet* being instantly aduertised thereof by *Valentine*, halted wth almost all his power to assaulte the enemies Campe. He broughte forth the *Helde* pikes, the *Landzars* going foremoste, and the rest of the footemen, whome the yonger horsemen dismissing their hoxes, followed on fote, and with terrible howling assaulted the Campe. When the *Austrians* perceyuing that their flight was deseryed, were putte oute of hearte: yet the *Bohemians*, and also those *Germanes* that warded at the Wydge of the *Islande*, did valiantlye and manfullye resiste. There was a greate vppore and tumulte throughtoute all the

The Battell of Buda.

the whole campe, and namely at the banke of the river, when e-
 uery man conceiuing feare, hasted without order, and without
 shame, yea and by wounding one another to get a shippe bourde.
 For the deade time of the night, and then verie darke by clondie
 weather, made all things to seeme moze terrible, yea vnto the va-
 liant. But *Rocandulph* could beare no rule in the darke, and in so
 great a noyse and bypzoze of his owne men, and crying of his eni-
 mies, and the mightie thunder of the artillerie tempesting from
 all partes. He, besides his griefe of minde, lay then on his bedde,
 being wounded by a marueplous chaunce. For as he was wry-
 ting of letters vnto the King, a pellet of a fhalcon lighted in his
 tente, and brake in sunder a chest, a peece of a worde whercof
 wounded the Earle in the shoulder very grievously. Moreover,
 the rest of the Captaines of the footemen, vehemently enuying
 at the already transported horsemen for their fortunate flight, the
 which was nowe taken from them, did as men busied with their
 owne feare, not preferring the publicke perill before priuate
 safetie, rather abide still, than repugne their assailling enimies.
 So then first the vpper campe, where *Peren* had lodged, was ta-
 ken by the bandes of the Captaine of *Belgrade*, and *Valensine*, and
 the *Almaines* were driuen downe with headlong flighte from all
 the hill of *Saint Gerarde*. Neyther doe they in *Osen* let slippe this
 good occasion offered to interclude their enimies, but incontinent-
 ly sallied out at the gate of the water toure, and at that gate of
 the Campe that was ouer right against them, assailed the sta-
 tions which was nowe forsaken, and casting vpon the enimies
 balles of wyld fire, endeuoured to burne the tentes. But *George*
 the Regent of *Yong King*, with as sodaine as happie deuise, did
 set on fire at the Kings stables mightie heapes of straw and hay,
 whereby there sodenly appeared such a great shining flame, that
 when the *Thenaw* receiued on his brighte water the shyning of
 the light of the fire, and it being spred abroad by reuerberation,
 was cast soth very like vnto daye light, euen vnto the backe of
Pest, all that soule sight both of the tumult on the lande, and also
 of the flight of the water was apparantlye behelde. But then
 was the ordinaunce directed, and shotte from all partes at the
 fleeing

fleeing fleets, so that the vessels which had bene disordered, yea, with the vncertaine shotes, were nowe shot at not only from the water toure, and the castell of *Ofen*, but also from the *Turkysh* campe, and from *Cepellia*: and nowe that so greate lighte was brought into all places, *Casson* also the Admirall of the *Turkysh* fleets rowing the lighter vessels vp the streame, gaue a charge on the side of the enemies nauie. So a confliete by water being also attached, our men fought vnf Fortunately in all places: certayne *Hoyes* laden with souldiours were taken, and manye drowned, and surke with the ordinance, all the riuer was filled full of slain men, and the wretched companie of *Pariners* and souldiours that laboured to swimme to the shoze. For when the *Lunizars* ouerthrowing the foremost bands, had broken into the lower campe, and the rest of the *Almaines* fleeing into the *Island* by the bridge, were wounded in the backes with *Semitarres*: they for feare of honest death sought shamefull destruction in the gulfe of the water. Many were drowned in the deepe channell, or else were repulled and thrust from the shippes by the weapons of their enemies. Thzee hundredeth vessels being that night with incredible conturbation intermedled together, & for a good while remayning together, one woulde haue thought there had bene a bridge made ouer the riuer: but *Ferdinandes* frigates, and the greater *Passades* despairing, got themselues speedily out of the handes of the *Turkes*, and keeping the enemies from them with their ordinance, shotte out at their stemmes, went vp the riuer vnto the *Isle* of *Comora*. Also the armie by lande had the lyke lucke in the campe: but the *Bohemians* manfullye repugning, ended their liues verve honourably, as also the bandes of *Otho* and *Hech*, the chiefe Colonnell of the footemen, died of wounds receiued in their fore parts: but diuers escaping by the top of *Saint Gerardes* hill, when they were come vnto the edge of the cliffe that hanged ouer the camp, darkenesse, and feare of their instant enemies, confounded their heartes and senses, and so they fell downe hedlong from the cliffe, and brake their neckes. But many running out at the principall gate of the campe, met with them of *Ofen*, and exercising the clemencie or crueltie of their enemies, as they were of diuers dispo-

The Battell of Buda.

sitions, were eyther slayne or saued. But when the sunne ryng
 did discouer the slaughter of our men, and the victorie of
 the Barbarians: about thre thousande men of all sortes, who e-
 recting their ensignes at the Church of Saint Gerarde, on the
 hanger of the hill had souldiourlike cast themselves into a ring,
 were slaine by the entringing multitude of their enimies: yet al-
 most the thirde part of them, casting downe their weapons, de-
 sired to haue their lyues saued, and yielded to be kept for a shew
 moze shamefull and worse than death it selfe. At the same time
 also *Casson* bringing his victorious nauie vnto the banke of
Pest, strake such terroz into their heartes that had escaped (and
 might easily haue defended the walles) only with their *Turkische*
 clamors: the thundering of the artillerte, that the horsmen ran
 so fast out at the gates with fearefull sight, that one of them
 did hurt another in the thronging forth. For the *Almaines* for
 getting their wonted prowes, did so tremble at the name of the
Turkes, that when they saue in the Boates the heades wrapped
 about with linnen, they ranne away afrighted and vnarmed,
 leauing behinde them their plate, and all their dearest and best
 baggage, with their wagons: yet the *Vsarones* stayed a whyle,
 with whom greedinesse of pillage preuailed moze than all feare
 of death, they being busied in ryding & spoyling of the merchats
 shops: for a noble and rich Mart of al wares was set by at *Pest*,
 Marchantes resorting out of all partes vnto the safe seate of
 the strong and very commodious towne for that it was without
 daunger of the warres, and the tumultes of souldiours, and yet
 neare vnto the campe, there being but a shopt cut ouer the ri-
 uer betwene the towne and the campe. But when no man de-
 fended the walles nor gates, *Casson* incontinently brake into the
 towne, and slue certain of the spoyling *Vsarones*, but he toke such
 delight in christian bloude, that he spared no man in the towne,
 no not the sick, of whome there was a great number, nor the
 women that followed the *Almaines*, for they killed all sortes and
 seres indifferently, vnlesse it were those whom godly personage
 and strength had reserved to be slaues, or the floure of tender
 yeares had purchased pardon, for hope of lecherie. So that it is
 reported,

reported, that there were slaine in these warres by sundry chances aboue xx. thousande Christians. But there were taken in Pest, in the Campe, in the Islande, and in the Ships, that had not yet ben discharged, sixe and thirtie very goodly battering peeces, but of smaller mounted on wheeles an hundredth & fiftie. Moreover, the enimie got such wonderfull store of gunpowder, & piron shot, armour, weapons, and victuals provided for all the winter, that by estimation of the Barbarians that bootie was accounted farre the greatest part of the victorie. But when the *Turkes* hauing wonne the munition, sought in the middes of the camp, *Rocandolph* lying in his bed, desired rather to be slaine in his tent than to suruiue so great an ouertrow, but he was against his will and chafing thereat, carped aborde a boate by his physician and chamberlaine, and so transported into the Isle of *Cemora*, where a little while after he dyed of the griefe of his wounde & hurt. But all the prisoners, who were in number about eyght hundredth, being presented vnto *Soliman* at his arriual vnto the campe, were by his commandement all slayne; except certaine knownen capitaines and noble men, among whom were *Balthasar Pocan*, and *Taske* an olde captaine, maister of the watch.

¶ The Battell of Ceresoles; foughte in Piemonte beveene Alphons Marques of *Gusto*, Generall for *Charles* the sixt, Emperour, and *Francis* Duke of *Anguien*, Generall for *Francis* the French King, in Anno. 1544. Out of *Paulus Iouini*.



When that *Francis* Duke of *Anguien*, Lieutenaunt Generall in Piemonte for *Francis* the French King, besieged with a great power *Carignano*, a strong town, and of great importance in Piemonte, *Alphons* Marques of *Gusto*, Governour of Milan and Piemonte, for *Charles* the Emperour, being moued with the
 ff.g. perill

The Battell of Ceresoles.

perill of the towne, and the Captaine whome he had befoze faithfully promised to succour, as soone as he had receyued out of *Germanie* two regiments of *Lansquenets* vnder the conduct of the two *scaligers*, and sixe thousande *Italians* (for the most part *shot*) ledde by *Robert Prince of Salerne*, with whome an olde Captaine *Cesar Maso* was ioynd for a Counsaylour, and seauen hundred men of armes (but yet in comparison of the *Frenchmen*, but light horsemen) and a singular cornet of olde men of armes from the Duke of *Florence* vnder *Radulpho Baleone*, and to these were adioyned his olde stoze a fewe *Spaniards*, and the regiment of *Lansquenets* of *Baron Seisnech*, whose bandes were not full: he marched towardes *Carignano*. But befoze he came there, he was met with in a plaine betwene *Ceresoles*, and *Carmagnola*, by the *French* power, the which was thus ranged. In the middle battell stode the *Gascoignes*, and the rest of the olde *French* footemen singularly well appoynted, and very brauely, close vnto whome stode the strong regiment of *Switzers* that had serued long in those warres in *Piemont*, and strongly backed all the front of the *Gascoignes*, which stode very boade. The right wing was appointed vnto the *Switzers* that came lately out of their countrie, who with singular heate of heartes had desired to fight. But the *Gruieres* a kinde of halfe clownishe souldiers, and of no great vse, were placed in the left wing. These *Gruieres* doe dwell about *Genewa*, and *Lesanne*, and border on *Berne* and *Sitten*. Among these *Gruiers* were certaine *Italian* bandes, namely of banished men of *Milan*, *Sauoy*, and *Piemont*, were admired. This was a great battell, and had many ensignes. But bicause it consisted for a great part of freshe water souldiours, and men of diuers languages, and had also bene taken vp without great choyce, they gaue almost no opinion of assured valor, or firme consent. Whereouer, betwene these three battells of footmen, there stode also three of horsemen. Betwene the middle battell, and the esquadrons of the *Switzers* stode *Monsieur de Thermes*, with whome were all the light horsemen, and one troupe of men of armes to strengthen them. And the *Lorde Boniis* garded the open side of the *Gruiers* with an other power of horsemen. When the *Marques* seeing this araye of the enemies,

did set right ouer against the middle battell and the *Gascoignes*, a whole battallion of *Almaine* footemen (whome he did take to be of invincible strength) with this order, that in the forefront he placed *Aliprand Adruhes* brother unto the Cardinal of Trent, who had desired to haue that honoz. For the lustie and valiant pong Gentleman had in tyme befoze couragiouslye professed, that he woulde with his onely regiment (wherein were not full thye thousande) encounter, and valiantly ouerthzowe the *Switzers*, whose force the *Marques* seemed not vnskillfullye to feare. Behinde him, the two *Scaligers* ledde their regimentes, their ensignes being placed in the middes of the battell. The right wing against the *Gruers* was appointed unto the *Spaniardes*, but so that he adioyned vnto them fve bandes of *Lansquenets* vnder the charge of *Seisnech*, men meete for a standing fight. He placed all the *Italians* in the left wing, and willed them by little and little to clyme the hill, which rose by gently from the small valley, as the better place, and willed them not to sturre from thence, least that they shoulde be disordered and defeated by the *Switzers* that stode against them, to whome they were inferiour in discipline: but to stande still in aray and be obedient vnto the commaundements of the Prince of *Salerne* and *Masso*, and vse their harquebusses as the chaunce of the battell shoulde require. *Philip Lanoy* a Flemming, Prince of *Salmana*, who was Generall of the horsemen) was commaunded to stande in the voyde rowne betwene the *Lansquenets* and the *Spaniardes*, and *Baleone* did the like, standing directly against *Thermes*. But *Charles Gonzaga* had a speciall charge to obserue and innade *Boutiers*, who stode right ouer against him. The battels on both sides being thus aranged, and the great ordinance on both parts shot off, the signals were sounded, and the battels began to approach, betwene whom the *Marques* ryding to and fro with great daunger of the pellets whiche flue from the great ordinance and harquebusses rounde about his eares, and belwing all things with his eyes, perceyued that the *Almaines* came so warde moze slowly than he would haue them, insomuch that he came neare vnto them, and courteouslye encouraged the Captaines to amende their pace: when sir, he behelde

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The Battell of Ceresoles.

vndoubted signes of deadly feare in the faces of the *Scaligers*,
 they looking moze sadde and pale than they were wont. *Alber-*
foze turning towardes his familiars, *Scalengo*, *Lindriano*, and
Salaureda, who continuallpe followed him to receyue messages
 from him, and to carie them vnto the battels and rankes, sayd:
 Almighty God auerete this yll abodement, and be with vs to
 daye with his omnipotent power, as we haue great neede ther-
 of, seeing that I doe see in these *Almaines*, in whome is reposed
 all our trust, & the meane to obteyne the victorie, no chearfulness
 to fight, now the enimie is present & prouoketh them, the which
 thing hath neuer happened befoze this time. The first that ran
 together, after that the Marques had giuen the signall through
 the encouragement of his souldiours, were the hoysenmen of
Thermes and *Balcone*, the which they did with so greate valor,
 that on both sides many were bozne to the grounde, and after
 their stanes were bzoken, they couragiously vled their battell
 ares and swordes. There *Thermes* charging on the *Italian*
 footemen, was repulsed, and his horse being harte, and falling
 to the grounde, he was taken by a freshe water souldiour.
 But although *Baleons* wing of hoysenmen excelled in prowes,
 yet they being inferior in number, coulde not susteyne the
 force of the frenche men of armes. So that many of them were
 slayne in that sharpe conflicte, and among them *Iulio Arze*,
 sonne to the Prince of *Tudero*, and *Baleone* hauing his horse
 slaine vnder him, hardly escaped wounded vnto the *Italian* foot-
 men. But in another wing *Fortune* (who vseth as it were
 with a kinde of playe, estiwones to erchaunge the euentcs of
 battelles) seemed to smile vppon the *spaniards* and olde *Lan-*
guenettes. For they vnder the conduct of *Raimunde de Cardon-*
na, and *seisneeth*, charged the *Gruers* so couragiously with a
Spanique of harquebusiers, that they disordered all their bat-
 tell, and made them to fle, and gotte the Cottage that they
 had stode by, and certayne peces of ordinaunce, and also
 with great slaughter brake through a troupe of hoysenmen that
 was sente to succour them. In this encounter, the *Monsieurs*
Destro, and *Charles Drosse*, who were the chiefe conductors of
 that

The Battell of Ceresoles.

223

that wing, were slayne, and also Monsieur de *Asier*, a yong Gentleman of singular hope. ouer hotelye breaking in, was cast out of his Saddle by the *Almaine* Pykes, and dyed within thre dayes after of his two woundes. In this speedie, but vncertaine fesse of victorie, the *Spaniards* being inflamed, so fiercely followed the fleeing Frenchinen, that with continued course they did flea and take euen vnto *Carmagnola*. At the verie same time the *Lansquenettes* who had lyen flatte on the ground that they might auoyde the great ordinance, being commanded by the *Marques*, arose vp, & taking vp dust, threw it ouer their shoulders, the which is an olde & religious custome of that nation, thinking by that ceremonie to wyinne the fauour of bloudie *Mars*, and then they made towarde the entinie. *Aliprande*, who was in the forefront of the battallion, goyng certayne paces befoze the Esquadron, chalenged to the combatte Monsieur de *Molle*, a notozious Captayne on the French side. But when the Frenchman refused it not, they ranne together so furiously, that one wounding the other in the face, they bothe fell downe to the grounde, *Molle* being thruste in with deadly Pyke a little aboue the eye, and *Aliprande* into the ball of the cheeke vp to the eare. Thus both the Captaynes falling downe, a verie sharpe and a bloudie fighte was begunne by the foremoste rankes, where the strengthe of the moste chosen souldiours and pettie Captaynes of both armies fought for the dignitie of their name, and for gloriois victorie. *Aliprandes* regiment that went forwarde verie hotelye, was more slowely followed by the *Scaligers* than they shoulde haue bene, by reason of the empeachmente of the lowe and vnneen grounde, whereby neyther coulde their Pykes be bozne wyth equall order, nor their rankes be aptlye set close together. But in the hottest of the fight, the Emperiall horsemen made into the left wing of the Frenchmen where *Bonsiers* stode with his troupe readye to fight, and ran forth very couragiously, but vainly, & as it appeared anon after, very incommodiously and shamefully. For when they were come vnto y Frenchmen, they neuer once giuing anye charge, no nor so much as charging their staves, whirled

whirled themselves rounde aboute lyke vnto the forme of the Moone, eyther to trayne out the light hōslemen from the garde of the men of armes, or bicause they being lighte armed, durste not aduenture vpon their enimies, who were all in complete armour, or else were adduced so to doe by an vncertaine speach vttered (as they saide) by *Gott* their Captaine, who commaunded them to turne about their hōsles, that they being ouermatched, might not fight with the men of armes by encountering them with their hōsles brest to brest, and with thicke troupe, but with often running vpon them, and incontinentlye reculing backe againe, after the manner of the *Moors*. This vnlooked for turning away of the *Emperialles* caused first the *Frenchmen* to maruaile, and anon after also their fellows assuredly to suspecte that they did flee: so that *Bombers* sodenly with great valor charged on the backs of them that turned: who, although that the *Marques* cried out, and rated them, coulde not be stayed, but with headlong course ranne vpon the Esquadron of the *Almaines*, and finding it losse behind the ensignes, opened and brake through all the whole battallion: and also the *French men* following the, got in too at that breache, and with small adoe slue all the foulepe disordered hindermost ranks, bicause that they were not armed with heade peeces and Cosselets, as were the fore ranks: the *Frenchmen* caruing off whole limmes from the vnarmed, with their broad and heauie swordes, not vnlike vnto woode knives that hanged at their saddle bowes. But when the *Switzers* who stood ouer right againste the *Italians*, sawe this wauering and slaughter of the *Almaines*, they neglecting and omitting the *Italians*, turned their infestuous ensignes on the *Almaines*, as on them, whom for naturall hatred they bare them, they accounted for their very and peculiar enimies: neyther in dede coulde they commodiously charge the *Italians* for the holowesse and inequalitye of the place: and also they thought that if the *Almaines* were timely destroyed, then the victorie were surely gotten. This chaunce of counsell sodenly taken, brought not doubtfull safetie vnto the *Italians*, but most assured destruction vnto the *Almaines*: for as the *Italians* being inferiour both in furniture and number,

men thought would not haue susteyned the force of the impression of the *Switzers*, namely seeing that they had before saine the flight of their horsemen, so the *Almaines* that did very constantly propell the *Gascognes* and olde *Switzers* that fought in their front with singular valor, were not able to beare the fresh force of these *Switzers* that charged them on the side, so that being disordered by the madde miserable irruption of their olde horsemen, and succoured by no man, but layne behinde by the French horsemen, and in the front by the vrging enemies their footemen: after that their captaines were slaine, and their ensignes throwne downe, they turned their backs, and were almoste euery man slayne. There died with the *Scaligers* diuers noble men of greate renoume for sundrie honors bozne in the filde, and Captaynes of bandes, and most honourable of all, *Vulcane Sonne* to the Earle of *Furstenberg*, *Michaell Prensinger*, Lieutenant to *Brannor Scaliger*, & *Anty Vise*, a man of great fame for his many martial voyages, and *Hildebrande Tunney*, *Balthasar Chaldeste*, *James Figer*, *Matrice Burse*, *Adam Wall*, and the *Baron of Grinissen*. But *Aliprande Madruckes* being sore wounded in many places, was found halfe deade among the slaine cartasses, and taken prisoner. But when the *Italian* footemen sawe the *Almaines* defeated, and the horsemen fledde, they vsing a deuise rather needefull and profitable (as it afterwarde appeared) than honourable, fearing the victors, began to get themselues out of daunger, and to retire through that lowe place that I spake of, but yet still keeping araye, and so no strong bande of their enemies molesting or pursuing them, they came before midnight vnto *Asi*, whither long before had *Lanoy* come whole & vntouched with his horsemen: but anon after the sunne was set, the *Marques* came thither wounded a little aboue the knee with an harquebuste shotte that went through his steale saddle, as also his helmet was battered with the many blowes of horsemens spalles: but bicause he wore not at that time the Ensignes of a Generall, as he was wont to doe, but onely a blacke and meane cassocke, he was not knowne of his enemies, and so defending himselfe with his sword, got out of this bloody boyle. But the cause why y the French horsemen did not set vp: n

nor pursue the *Italians*, we learned, was this : They hauing lost *Termes* their Captaine, and also being disperſed, had turned themſelues to oppreſſe the right wing of their enimies. For when the *Spaniards*, *Seisneches*, and *Lanquenettes* that had defeated the *Gruers*, and hadde purſued them farre, returned toyfull of their valiaunt ſeruiſe, and were ignoraunt of the diſcomfiture of their fellowes, they being ſodenly amased with the ſight of that ſlaughter, and alſo being in ſuſpence what to doe, lighted on the victor *Frenchmen*, by whom being enclaſed as in a powde (the hoſemen enuironing them rounde, were taken priſoners almoſt without wounde, bicauſe the valiaunt nien thoughte it better in this deſperate ſtate to yeelde to fortune, than to repugne with ſolliſhe & deadly pertinacie. There yeilded *Raimonde* of *Cardonna*, the Campe maſter, ſonne vnto that *Raimonde*, whiche was Generall at the battell of *Raenna*, and with him Captaines of greate marke, *John Beaumont*, *Lewes Chixada*, *Conſalres Hernandez*, and *Cheuedes*. But the *Baron ſeiſnech* getting on horſe, eſcaped the daunger, and *Charles Gonzaga* when he ſawe the hoſemen ſhamefully flee, that he might not be attainted with the like diſhonour, brake in among the *Frenchmen*, and being hurled off from his horſe, was taken priſoner. And alſo *Hercules Martinengo*, borne of a noble houſe at *Breſſa*, being incenſed with the ſelfe ſame ſhame, but wyth harder lot of honozable attempt, luſtilye thruſt into the thicke battell of his enimies, with his coynet, as it became one brought by by *Guaſto*, where he was ſlaine, with his brother *Artilio*. They report that there was ſlayne *xij. M.* of whom farre y moſt were *Almaines*. And whereas there was in the ſielde almoſt with equall number on both ſides aboue *xl. M.* footemen, the victorie happened not vnto the *Frenchmen* altogether without bloude, namely ſeing that their left wing was defeated & put to flight, and diuers of the *French nobilitie* ſlayne. I hearde afterwarde the *Marques* himſelfe ſaye, that he had neuer thought but that he ſhould haue ſuſteyned and defeated the force of the *French hoſemen* (which was otherwiſe to be feared) by his *harquebuſiers*, as it had happened at the battell of *Paris*, and alſo he did

guermatch

adermatch the enimies their footemen in strength of thicke Esquadron. The fruite of this victoyle was nothing else but the winning of Carignano.

¶ The Battell of Scriuia in Lumbardie, betveene the Prince of Salerne Generall for Charles the Emperour, and Peter Strozz Chiefaine for France the French king, in Anno. 1544. Out of Ionius.



When that the Duke of Anghien had giuen the Marques of Guasto that famous ouerthrowe at Ceresoles, the French king deuouring in hope the Duchie of Milan, began to reenforce Anghiers power, and for that intent sent Peter Strozz, a banished man of Florence, into Italie, for to take vpper souldiours, the which he did with great speede, hying about Mirandula seauen thousande Italians with his owne money, with whom also sayned Martinengo a noble man of Bressi, with his company of horsemen, and also Francis Orsino the earle of Petilia, & ij. banished men of Naples, the duke of Somma, & the prince of Capazzi, who had leised power in the Romanne territoyle. But when that Strozz would haue passed the Po, the Marques of Guasto who had gathered together a power, shewed himselfe on the other side of the riuer readie to impeache his passage, & also sent the prince of Salerne with the greater part of his power to take the straites of the mountaine Apenine, that he might not passe that way neyther. Whereby he was forced to seeke safetie by retiring back ouer y painful mountains. But with in iij. days, y Prince & Strozz were in sight one of thother at the riuer of Scriuia, & begā streightway to skirmish. But whē Strozz for seare of y princes hozlinen, passed ouer the riuer, & withdrew himself to the vineyards that stōd on y hanger of an hil, certain of the Princes bands of footemen toke a hill nere vnto the. The which the Strozzians coulde not abide, but did set vpon them so fiercely

The Battell of Ceresoles.

fiercelly, that they put them to flighte., and forced them to leese their ensignes, and also to forsake their two peces of ordnance. Then *Strozzi* being very ioyfull of this good successe, as though he had scene victorie nowe comming towarde him, by the adhortation of *Marbore*, a Captaine moze aduenturous than skilfull, could not keepe in himselfe, but brake forth out of the vineyards, and cried victorie, victorie, and sent vnto the Captaines of *Pesilians* regiment (for he himselfe being grievously hurt by chaunce in the legge, layed at *Placentia*) for to followe with speedie pace with the reerwarde, and to be present at the victorie begun. *Pesilians* bandes who were not ruled by one man, but many, and were obedient not vnto the skilfullest Captaines: but the noble men of greatest hono^r, as soone as they hearde the crie of victorie, coulde not be kept in, although that *Somma* and *Capezza* commaunded them to marche vnto the vineyardes in a thicke Esquadron, but that they ranne forth with losed ranks, and by their thin arraye gaue occasion vnto the ho^smen of the enimies to breake forth, to the which occasion *Salerne* sayled not rating the ho^smen, who a while lingering with infamous slouth, woulde neyther rume their ho^sles lustily, as though they were wearie, nor couragiously charge the Esquadron. When (sayde he) will ye thinke that the ignomie lately taken at *Ceresoles* must be wyped awaye by some valiant facte, if that ye doe not nowe charge ouerthwart the side of this thime Esquadron of the wea^rie enimie marching with losed ranks: The ho^smen blushed, and immediatly gaue a couragious charge on the enimie, *Bartholomewe Greco* the Lieutenant of *Baleons* companie being the first that brake forth: the p^rlosed battallion of the enimies was broken through, and at length the ho^smen charging on all parts, and the fo^remen following, all the *Switzers* were souly defeated and scattered, with this euent, that few being slaine, all were abnost taken unhurt, the memorie of y^e vnbloudy warres of our fathers being renued. For the *Italians* did curteously spare them that yeldeo, being contented with the spoyle. Neyther were the *Almaines* and *Spaniardes* present, whose cruell handes reioycing in slaughter, fewe had escaped. And also with good lot the two *Neapolitane* banished *Princes*,

Somma and *Capezza*, who were in assured danger of death, were let go, when that euery souldiour thought that the noble men alpyed by bloude vnto *Gualto* and *Salerno*, were rather gently to be let go, than to be seuerely deliuered vnto detestable death by the iudgement of *Straungers*. One onely noble man, and he also a pong Gentleman of surpassing towardynesse, *Vlisses Orsino*, was slayne in the fight with a harquebuste shot. *Strozzi* himselfe escaped into the neare dominions of the frendes and confederates of the Frenchmen, with *Nicolas* the sonne of the Earle of *Petilia*, and *Flaminio* the Earle of *Anguillara*. This ouerthrowe dashed all the intended attemptes of *Angbien*. This battell was fought in June, and that at *Ceresoles* in Aprill before.

¶ The Battell of *Lochen* foughte in Saxon, betwene Charles the fift, Emperour of Rome, and *Iohn Fredericke* Duke of Saxonie, in Anno 1547. 24. of Aprill. Out of *Natalis Comes*.



When that the armie of the confederate states of the Empire assembled against the force of *Charles the fift*, their Emperour, who was sore displeased with their streight alliance, was dissolved, and the chief conductors therof *Iohn Fredericke* Duke and Prince Elector of Saxon, and *Philip* the Lantgraue of *Hesse* were returned home to defende their owne countries: the Emperour passing ouer the riuier of *Elb*, entred Saxonie, hasting with his onely horsemen to fight with the Duke before he had disperced his power into his impregnable holdes. And in dede the Imperials vsep such celeritie, that they were vpon the Saxons before that they were ware of them, in so much that when the Imperiall auant-currers were sodenly come so neare vnto them, that they coulde not well be set in aray, all the Saxon armie was fraught full of trembling and feare, and were euen vpon the pycke to flie all away: of so great moment in warres is celeritie alone. But

The Battell of Lochen.

whylest that the auantcurreers Emperiall being verpe fewe in number, stayed for more power, whiche continually came vnto them: the Duke had lespure to set his men in aray, but yet not as he was wonte, and as the discipline of warres woulde haue it, but as the present necessitie requested and permitted. He deuided his soter men into two Esquadrons, whome he garded on both sides with his horsemen, and placed his greate ordinaunce, and his baggage, and cariages in the myddes. In the meane tyme the Emperialles were so increased, that they doubted not to encounter their enimies, who nowe marched towardes *Vrsseberg*. And firste there passed betwene them lyght skirmishes, whome the Saxons still marching on their waye forced not off: seeing that they did not onely stoutly resist them, but also repelled with slaughter such as ouer hardily pressed vppon them. Afterwarde when that the Duke of *Alua*, the Emperiall Generall was come into sight wyth a great troupe of horsemen, the Saxons fearing by the great cloude of duste that was raysed vppe, that the Emperours whole power was come, beganne to marche on a rounde pace: the whiche certayne of the Emperiall lighte horsemenne taking for a kinde of flyghte, gaue a greate shoute, and lustily charged the Saxons: and certayne men of armes wente aboute to enclose them on the other side. But a great troupe of Saxons harquebussers on horsebacke, charged the Emperiall horsemen, with so greate violence, and so myghtie and horrible a strome, that not one of them durste abyde, but incontinently turned their backs, and were forced to flee backe among the men of armes. These horsemen were taken vppe in the confines of *Hungarie*, *Poloue*, and *Croatia*, and had to their Captaine *Bartholomewe*, a *Croatian*, an olde and erperthe souldiour. When that the Saxon vnderstode that hys soter mens heartes were a little confirmed throughe the valor of these horsemenne, he commaunded that the soter menne of the Earle of *Bichlinghen*, in whome he reposed greatest truste, and the horsemen of *Iohn Ponicaue*, and *Gangulph* of *Eislinghen* should be placed agaynst the fronte of the enimies, wyllyng them

them that if they were inuaded and charged for to ferygne that they gaue place vntill that at commodious tyme the signall of fighte shoulde bee giuen. Whyle that the *Saxon* is doyng of this, the Emperour with the King of the *Romaines* had overtaken *Alua* his hoysmen: Wherefore his Maicstie thynking that oportunitie of fighte was offered him, whereof he was verpe desirous, and bicause that the daye was nowe well spent, he incontinentlye aranged his power into a vantgarde, and a battayle. In the auantgarde he placed sixe hundred Launces to the charge of *Maurice Duke of Saxon*, sixe hundred *Hungarian* hoysmen, and seauen hundred *Italian* hoysmenne, and one hundred harquebusiers on horsebacke, they being all in number two thousande. He deuided them into thre troupes, the *Hungariads* stode on the right wyng, the *Almaines* on the left, and the *Italians* in the middes: of the reste of his power he made the battell, the whiche he deuided into two Esquadrons, of whome he committed the one vnto the King of the *Romaynes*, but the other he ledde hymselfe: the one consisting of seauen hundred hoysmen, and the other of one thousand, part Launces, and parte Harquebusiers on horsebacke, and wylled his souldiours to auance in luche order, that the fronte shoulde be broadest, contrarie to the vlsage of the *Almaines*, who doe make their fronte narrowe, and their sides broad. The reason hereof was, bicause it is not onely goodlye vnto the eye, but also verpe sure. For in this araye a battell cannot so easely bee enclosed, by reason of the breadth thereof, the whiche maye happen with no greate difficultie, if that the Esquadron bee narrowe. The *Saxon* had sixe thousande footemenne caste into two Esquadrons, and nyne Cornettes of hoysmenne, whiche was two thousande, sixe hundred, and foure score hoysmen: but he hymselfe ryding from ranke to ranke, prouided for all necessaries in all places. And when he sawe but onely the forwarde of the Emperialles, bicause that the duste didde hyde the battayle, he was in good hope.

The Battell of Lochen.

hope that he shoulde be able verpe easlye for to suffeyne the
 force of so fewe horsemen. But when he was admonished by
 his Marshall, to go a little on one side, that he might more dili-
 gently beue them with whome he shoulde fight, he sawe also the
 battell aranged, wherefoze vnderstanding that all the Emperial
 horsemen were come, and also percepuing their araye and pur-
 pose, he returned vnto his hosse, and determined to take a worde
 full of Marshes, and very blinde narrowe pathes, thinking that
 throught the benefite thereof, he shoulde be able to prolong the
 fight vntill it were night, and then he should be safely shrowded
 therewith, and commodiously recover *Vittemberg*. But there
 was betwene both the armies so large an open playne, as wold
 suffice for them to fight in, for it was aboute thre hundred paces
 long: the which playne, the Emperials thought if that they could
 get, then they shoulde defeate their enemies. Wherefoze *Alua*
 sent the light horsemen befoze for to impeach the ennemie from
 taking thereof. But bicause that the *Saxon* footemenne and two
 troupes of horsemen stode therevpon, the Emperiales were for-
 ced to retire vnto their fellows, the exployte vnatchieued. But
Alua with a stronger troupe of *Almaine* horsemen, strengthe-
 ned the light horsemen, who contrarie to his expectation had bene
 repelled, and adhorted the rest to glorie and valiance, and great-
 ly were his commaundementes aduanced throught the skilful-
 nesse of the souldiours, who did execute partiall preceptes spee-
 dily and exactly. Wherefoze they renewing the fight, did so vali-
 antly giue the charge on their enemies, that they had almoste
 made them to turne their backs. The *Saxon* percepuing the faunt
 courage of his menne, that he mighte not be enuironed on all
 partes, and the way of his safetie taken from him, called a troupe
 of horsemen from the left wing, and commaunded them to succor
 their distressed fellows, and as the shortnesse of the time wou'd
 suffer, adhorted them in this maner to reueyne the stoutnesse and
 glorie of their auncestors: Unless that ye your selues (fellows
 souldiours) did verpe well knowe that almoste all mans nobilitie
 and glorie both consist in partiall matters, it woulde haue bene
 needefull for me to declare with many words, that our auncestors

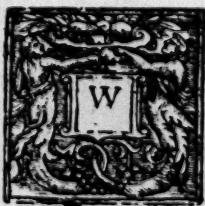
got estimation, glorie, and empire by none other thing, and I woulde haue reuoked into your memo^{rie} their diuine and wonderfull actes. But seeing that the straytnesse of the time doth not beare it, the which doth require fortitude of hart and strength of bodie, than any eloquent speech: This onely thing do I say, that at this time we must fight for all that we haue: the conseruation whercof, is reposed in onely fortitude, and valor of armes. For if we shall playe the valiant and stoute fellows, as in dede we ought to doe, this daye will be vnto vs the happiest day that euer shined, and of greatest memo^{rie} among all our posteritie. For we maye (I doe not saye) defende our goddes, cuntrye, libertie, religion, wiues, children (although that these things are of them selues most deare, and of such price, that for them all perils are to be cōtemned) neither conserue, nor recouered principality of *Saxonie*, but with surpassing prayse and admiration of all fozein nations, augment the glorie of the *Germane* name, deliuer from thraldome, and make free the *Almaine* Empire, and feare the rest of the enemies of the *Germanes*: from euer againe vering of *Germanie*, and finally obteyne a glorious and quiet peace for euer. But contrariwise, if we giue place to fortune, who is mostlye frende vnto the hardie, but seldome vnto the fearefull, we must needes come into the hands of our enemies with extream shame, and at one time lose all that we haue, & possesse. By these reasons were the *Saxons* a litle cōfirmed, who being set in such array as was thought best for that present, the Duke himselfe stode with his horsemen before his footmen, that they might be confirmed. For he did not a litle distrust their prowes. In y^e right wing against y^e Emperials he placed *Ernest* the Duke of *Brunswicke* with the horsemen of *Nicolas Bernarde*, and *Iohn Segherne*, whome he did take to be his best. He gaue order, that if the Emperials did giue any charge in their battels, they shoulde shote off all their Pistolets and harquebusses at once, and alwayes keeping their aray, suffer the inuasions of their enemies, and also commaunded that no man on payne of death shoulde go out of his place, for he himselfe would be carefull to bying them succour: and thus they saire and softlye expected the onset of the Emperialles. The *Saxon* himselfe roate

hither and thither, opportunitely providing and seeing to all things: then he commanded the horsemen and certaine harquebusiers to give a charge upon the Emperiall light horsemen, that the rest of his footemen might the more commodiously get into the woode, though whose garde they thought they shoulde be safe. But by this time had the Emperour ioynd with the avantgarde of his men, and with fewe words adhorted his soldiers to attache the battell, crying *Saint George, Hispanie, and the Emperre*. But when all the Emperiall troupes ran forth together equally scotred, they came unto a dirtie plot, where many of the horses did slide, as in a slipperie place: wherefore the battell was forced to stay untill that the forewarde were passed the slough, least that else both battells shoulde be disordered, and one intermixed with another, whereby it came to passe, that they going aside, the avantgard was passed by at that same time that the Saxons gave the charge that I spake of with very good order, on the light horsemen of the Emperiales. When that the Emperour sawe this opportunitie to have a sayre daye, he sente from the one side men of armes, and from the other the harquebusiers on horsebacke, and Duke Morrice to charge that parte of the Saxons that had before seemed to be the more fearfull. The battell was begunne in the right wing, where the Saxons discharging their shotte altogether, as they had bene commanded, the fight seemed at the firste to be very cruell. But when that the light horsemen of the Italians and the Hungarians charged them in another parte on the side, and woulde graunte the shotte no leysure to recharge their peeces agayne, and in another quarter, the men of armes of Naples, Duke Morrice, and the harquebusiers fiercely byged: they so fervently charged the Saxons on all sides, that the avantgarde whiche had not entred the woode, was opened and scattered. It was marvellous to see within howe small a space of time, and as it were in a momente all the armie of the Saxons was overthrowne & defeated, the light horsemen and the Hungarians pursuing the victory with wonderful celeritie. The Saxon although he endeuoured opportunitely to succour his menne, and
timely

timely to prouide all things: yet when he sawe that so greate a number of his men were layde on the grounde, and ouerthrowne, he determined to save himselfe by taking the wood, after that he certainly perceived that he was in no wyse able to resist with the reste that were lesse him. But when he was disclosed vnto his enemies by one that was taken prisoner, and his Princelye porte, and almoste Kinglye maiestie did perswade them to beleue that it was he in deede: fiftie two *Italians* pursued him, and although he were valiantly defended by his men, yet at the last, when that moe of the *Imperialles* came, he was taken prisoner after no small fight by *Hippolito a Vientine*, who pulled off his heade peece, and did put hym on an hatte, in signe of a prisoner. But when that the *Imperialles* came afterwarde into the worde, they founde so manye armour and weapons throwne awaye, and lying on the grounde, and so manye slayne bodies heaped in the wayes, that it was a lamentable sight vnto their countymen, some seeing their brethren, other their cousins and frendes slaine by them, and also it was no small impediment vnto the rest to pursue the chace. Moreover, there were such a number of prisoners taken, that many of the *Imperialles* led fiftie or xx. prisoners a peece with their handes bounde behinde them. But because that the *Imperials* seemed to be greatly dispersed for desire of spoile, the which is no small danger in victorie, for that unknowne aides may come to the vanquished, and with small labour defeat the scattered victors (a thing which hath often happened) the Emperour commaunded the men of armes to be called backe, & the retire to be sounded. But meētintly after newes was brought vnto his maiestie that the *Saxon* was taken. There were slain of the *Saxons* about ij. M. footemen, & aboue vij. C. wounded, & moe than vij. C. taken, & of horsemen v. C. slaine, & farre moe taken, & yet many *Germanes* were let go by the *Germanes*: of all the armye not aboue iiii. C. horsemen, & so many footmen escaped to *Vppland*. Few of mark were slaine: there were take beside the *Saxon*, *Ernest the Duke of Brunswicke*, and *Charles of Thuring*, and two of the *Saxon* his secretaries: There were also taken xvij. ensignes of

footemen, & ix. of horsemen: great store of household stufte, money, and martiall furniture, two Culuerings, iiii. Demiculuerings, foure Demicanons, and fīue Falconets. His eldest sonne *John* being wounded in two places, was throwne off his horse, but being succoured by his frends, & he that had wounded him being slayne, he escaped to *Vittemberg*. There were slaine of the Emperials vnto the number of fīue hundred, because that the fight being begunne at eleuen of the clocke, continued vntill seauen: for the Saxons marched fighting fiftene myles from the riuer of *Elbe*. After this victorie, all *Saxonie* yeilded, and also the *Linnegrave* came in, and other *Almaine* states submitted themselves vnto the Emperour, who was nowe absolute victor.

¶ *Muscleborough* fielde fought in Scotlande betvvēne *Edvard Duke of Somerset*, and *James Hamelton Earle of Arraine*, Regents of Englande and Scotland, during the nonage of *Edward* and *Marie*, the Princes of the saide Realmes, in Anno. 1547. Taken out of *William Patens*.



When that *Marie* the yong Quēne of Scottes was not deliuered vnto the Englishe nobilitie to be ioined in happie mariage with *Edward* the first, the yong King of Englande, according vnto faithfull promise made: *Edward Seimor Duke of Somerset*, and Protector of his Maiesties person and dominions, invaded Scotlande the thirde of September, with an armie by lande of ten thousande footemen, of whome fīue hundred were barquebusiers, foure thousande men of armes and Demilaunces, and two thousande light horsemen, and of them two hundred were halbutters on horsebacke, thirtene hundred pioners, and fiftene peeces of great ordinance, and a flēte of xlv. vessels, wherof the *Galley*, and xxxiii. more were perfectly appointed for the wars,
and

The Battell of Muscledborough. 237

and the residue for munition and vittayle. The Admirall of this fleet was the Lord *Clinton*. The ninth of September the Englishmen were encamped within two miles of the Scottish power, leuied and ledde by *James Earle of Arrane*, Governour of Scotlande. The next morning the Scottes leauing their lodging which was very strong, and of great aduantage, and to the intent that aswell none of their souldiours shoulde lurke behinde them in their campes, as also that none of their Captaines shoulde be able to flee from their enterprize, hauing caused all their tentes to be let flatte downe to the grounde ere they came out, and then all aswell nobles as others (sewe except) that were not horsemen, appointed to leaue their horses behinde them, and to march on with their souldiours on fote) hastned towards the Englishmen, who were also marching against them, but neither side any whit ware of the others intent. But the Scottes staying a while upon the waye, our Galley shot of, and slue the maister of *Greyme* with xrb. neare him, and therewith so scarred the foure thousande Archers brought by the Earle of *Argyll*, that where (as it was sayde) they shoulde haue bene a wing to the foreward, they coulde neuer after be made to come forwarde. Herevpon did their armie hastily remoue, and from thence declining Southwarde, toke their direct waye towarde an hill called *Fanside Braye*. Of this, *Sir R. fe Vane* Lieutenant of all our horsemen, quickly aduertised my Lord Protector: who thereby did readily conceiue much of their meaning, which was to winne of vs the hill, and thereby the winde and the Sunne if it had shyned, as it did not, for the weather was cloudie and loursing. The gaine of which three things whether partie in sight of battell can happe to obteyne, hath his force doubled against his enimie. In all this enterprize they vsed for haste so little the helpe of horses, that they pluckt forth their ordinance by draught of men, whiche at this time began freely to shewe of towarde vs, whereby we were further warned, that they ment more than a skirmish. Herevpon all began euery man to be smitten with the care of his office and charge, and therevpon accordingly to applye himselfe aboute it: and also my Lordes grace, and the Councell on horsebacke as

they

238 *The Battell of Muscledborough.*

they were, sell strenghte in consultation. The sharpnesse of whose circumspect wisedomes, as it quickly espyed out the enemies intents: so did it among other things, promptly prouyde therein to preuent them (as was best) for the time ascribed no leysure. Their deuise was this: that my Lord Gray of Wilton Marshall of the armie, and Captaine Generall of all the hoysmen, shoulde with his bande of Balliours, and with my Lord Protector's bande, and the Earle of Warwicks (Lord Lieutenant of the armie) bande, all to the number of xviij. C. hoysmen on the one halfe: & Sir Rafe Vane, with Sir Thomas Darcie Captaine of the Pensioners, and men of armes, and my Lord Fitzwaters, with his band of Demilances, all to the number also of xvi. C. to be readie and euen with my Lord Marshall on the west halfe, and thus all these together afoze, to encounter the enemies a front. Whereby eyther to breake their arraye, and that waye weaken their power by disorder, or at the least to stop them of their gate, and force them to stay while our foze warde might wholly haue the hilles side, and our battell and reerwarde be placed in groundes next that in order, and best for advantage. And after this then, that the same our hoysment shoulde retire by the hilles sides to come downe in order afresh, and infaill them on both their sides, whyles our battells shoulde occupy the in fight a front. The policy of this deuise for the state of the case, as it was to all that knew of it, generally allowed to be the best that coulde be, euen so also taken to be of no small daunger for my Lord Marshall, Sir Rafe Vane, and other the assayers, the which neuerthelesse, I knowe not whether it were moze nobly or wisely deuised of the Councell, or moze valiantly and willingly executed of them. For euen there with god courage taking their leaues of the Councell, my Lord Marshall requirring only that if it went not well with him, my Lordes grace woulde be good to his wife and children, he sayde he woulde mete the Scottes, and so with their bandes these Captaynes toke their way towarde the enemy. By this were our foze warde and theirs within two syght shottes a sander. The Scottes hastned with so fast a pace, that it was thought of the

The Battell of Muscledorrough. 239

the most part of vs they were rather horsemen than footemen: Our men againe were ledde the more with speede. The maister of the ordinance *Sir Francis Flemming*, to our great aduantage, pluckt by the hill then certaine peeces, and sone after planted two or thre Canons of them well nie vpon the top there, whereby hauing so much the helpe of the hill, he myght ouer our mens heades shote nyest at the enimie. My Lorde Protector (whose peculiar charge of al this voyage, was the conduct of the middle battell) being cladde in sayre armour, toke his waye towardes the heighth of the hill, accompanied with no mo than *Sir Thomas Challoner*, to tarie by the ordinance, whereas he mought both best suruey vs all, and succour with ayde where moste he sawe neede, and also by his presence be a defence vnto the thing that stood weakest in place, and moste in daunger, the which thereby howmuch it stood in stead, anon shall I shew. But the Scottes in the middes of their swifte marche, were all at a sodaine staye, and stood still a good while (the cause whereof is vncertaine) and then made hastily towardes vs againe. I know not (to save the truth) whether more stoutlye of courage, or more strangly of order, me thought then I might note both in their march. But what after I learned specially touching their order, their armour, and their maner of fight, as well in going to offende, as in standing to defende, I haue thought necessarie here to utter. Hackbutters had they fewe or none, and appointed their fight moste commonlye alwayes on foote. They come to the fiede well furnished with Jacke, Scull, Dagger, Buckler, and Swordes, all notably brade and thinne, and of exceeding good temper, and vniuersally so made to slice, that as I neuer saw none so good, so thinke I it harde to deuise the better, hereto euery man his pike, & a great kerchiefe wrapped twise or thrise about his neck, not for cold, but for cutting. In their aray toward the foyning with the enimie, they cling & thrust so neare in the fore ranke shoullder to shoullder together, with their pikes in both handes streight afore them, and their followers in that order so harde at their backs laying their pikes ouer their foregoers shoullders, that if they doe assaile vndiscovered,

nd

240 *The Battell of Muscledborough.*

no force can well withstande them. Standing at defence, they thrust shoulders likewise so nie together, the fore ranks well nie to knœling, stoupe lowe before for their fellows behinde, holding their Wykes in both handes, and therewith in their lefte their Bucklers, the ende of the Wyke against their righte foete, the other against the ennue, best high, their followers crossing their Wyke pointes with them forwarde, and thus eche with other so nie, as place & space will suffer, through the whole warde, so thicke, that as easily shall a bare finger pierce through the skin of an angrie Hedgehogge, as anye encounter the front of their Wykes. My Lorde Marshall notwithstanding, whom no daunger detracted from doing of his enterpryse, with the company and order afore appointed, came full in their faces from the bylles side, with present mynde and courage continuing their course towarde the enimie. And my Lordes grace also at his place furiously tempestted aloft with the ordinance. The enemies were in a fallowe feld, whereof the furrowes laye sideling towarde our men: By the side of the same furrowes next vs, and a stones cast from them, was there a crossedich, or slough, which our men must needs passe to come to them, wherein many that could not leape over, sticke fast, to no small daunger of themselves, and some disorder of their fellows. The enimies perceyuing our men fast approach, disposed themselves to abide the bzunt, and in this order stode still to receyue them. The Earle of Anguish next vs in the forewarde, as Captaine of the same with an eight thousande, and foure or five peces of ordinance on his right side, and foure hundred and twenty horsemen on his left: behinde him somewhat westward, the Gouverneur, with 1. M. inlande men (as they call them) the chofest men counted of their countrie. And the Earle Huntley in the reerwarde, welne even with the battayle on the left hande, with eyght thousande also. The foure thousand Irish archers as a wing unto them both, last in daide in order, and first (as they sayde) that rannt away. These battelles and reerwarde were wardeed also with ordinance according. *Edwarde Shelley* Lieutenant under my Lorde Grey, of his bande of *Bulleners*, was the first on our side that was ouer this slough, my Lorde Grey nexte,
and

The Battell of Muscledorow. 241

and so then after two or thre rankes of the former bandes. But badly yet coude they make their race, by reason the furrowes laye traaverse to their course. That notwithstanding, and though also they were nothing likely wel to be able thus a front to come within them to hurt them, as well bicause the Scottishe mens pykes were as long, or longer than their staves, as also for that their hoyses were all naked without bardes, whercof thoughte there were right many among vs, yet not one put on, forasmuch as at our comming forth in the morning, we looked for nothing lesse than for battell that daye, yet did my Lorde and Shelley with the residue, so valiantly and strongly giue the charge vpon them, that whether it were by their prowes, or power, the lefte side of the enemies that his Lordshippe did set vpon (though their order remained vnbroken) yet was compelled to swaye a good waye backe, and giue grounde largely, and all the residue of them beside, to stande much amased. Before this, as our men were welme at them, they stode very braue and bragging, shaking their Pyke poyntes, crying, come here Loundes, come here Tykes, come here Heretikes, and such like opprobrious wordes: Our Captaines that were behinde, perceyuing at eye, that both by the vneuenness of the grounde, by the sturdie order of the enemye, and for that their fellows were sonie, and streight before them, they were not able to any aduantage to maintaine this onset: did therefore according to the deuise in that poynt appointed, turne themselves, and made a soft retire vp towarde the hill againe. Howbeit, to confesse the truth, some of the number that knewe not the prepened policie of the counsaile in this case, made of a sober abused retire, an hastie temerarious flight. By Lord Marshall, Edward Shelley, little Preston, Brampton, and Gerningham, Bullners, Ratcliff, the Lorde Fitzwaters brother, Sir Iohn Cleres sonne and heire, Digges of Kent, Ellerker a Pensioner, Segraue. Of my Lorde Protectors bande, my Lorde Edward his Graces son, Captaine of the same bande, Stanley, Woodhouse, Conisbie, Hergill, Morris, Pennu, Arthur, and Atkinson, with the other in the fore ranke, were not able in this earnest assault both to tende to their flight afoze, and to the retire behinde: the Scottes agayne well

A.

conside

242. *The Battell of Muscledorow.*

considering hereby how weake they remayned, ranne sharpe
forwarde vpon them, and without any mercie slue euery man
of our men that abode furthest in p[re]ase, and a fire mo[re] (of *Bul-
lers* and other) than I haue here named, in all to the number of
xxvj. and most part gentlemen. My Lord Grey yet and my Lord
Edwarde (as some grace was) returned againe, but neyther all
in safetie, nor without euident markes they had bene there: for
the one with a Pyke through the mouth was rased a long from
the tip of the tongue, & thrust that way very daungerously more
than two inches within the necke, & my L. *Edwarde* had his horse
vnder him with swordes wounded sore, & I think to death. Like
as also a litle before this onset sir *Thomas Darcie* vpon his app[ro]ch
to the enemies, was stricken glauncing wise on the righte side,
with a bullet of one of the field p[ie]ces, & thereby his bodie brused
with the bowing in of his harnesse, his sword hilts broken, and
the forefinger of his right hand beaten flat: euen so vpon the par-
ting of this fray was sir *Arthur* slayt at with swordes, & so hurt
vpon the wedding finger of his right hand also, as it was coun-
ted for the first part of curing to haue it quite cut away. About
the same time certaine of the Scots ran out hastily to the kings
Maiesties standard of the horsmen (the which sir *Andrew Flam-
make* bare) & laying fast hold vpon the staffe therof, cried a king,
a king, that if both his strength, his hart, & his horse had not ben
good, & hereto somewhat aided at this pinch by sir *Rafe Coppinge*
a p[er]cener, both he had bene slaine, & the standard lost, which
the Scots neuerthelesse helde so fast, that they brake and bare
away the nether ende of the staffe to the burrell, and intended
so much to the gayne of the standard, that sir *Andrew* (as happe
was) scaped home all safe, and else without hurt. At this busines
also was my Lord *Fitzwaters* captaine of a number of demilan-
ces vnhorst, but some mounted againe, scaped, yet in great dan-
ger, and his horse all bewen. Hereat further were *Cawley* the
standard bearer of the men of armes, and *Clement Passon* a p[er]cener,
thrust ech of them into the leg with pikes, and *Don Philip*
a Spaniard in the kne. Diuers other maimed and hurt, and many
horses wounded beside. By this time had our foze ward accor-
dingly

The Battell of Muscledorow. 243

bingly gotten the full advantage of the hills side, and in respect
 of their march, stood sidelong toward the enimie, who neuerthe-
 lesse were not able in all parts to stande full square in aray, by
 reason that at the west ende of them vpon their right hand, and
 toward the enimie, there was a square plot enclosed with turfe
 (as their maner of fencing in those partes is) one corner wherof
 did let the square of the same aray. Our battell in good order next
 them, but so as in continuance of aray, the former part thereof
 stood vpon the hills side, the tayle vpon the plaine, and the
 reerwarded led by the Lord *Dukers* of the north wholly vpon the
 hill: so that by the placing and countenance of our armie in this
 wyse, we shewed our selues in a manner to compasse them in,
 that they should no way scape vs, the which by our power and
 number we were as well able to do, as a Spiders web to catch
 a swarme of Bees. These vndiscrete gadlings that so fondlye
 brake aray from the horsemen in the retire (as I sayd) ran so ha-
 stily through the orders and rankes of our fore ward, as it stood,
 that it both there disordred many, scared manye, & was a great
 encouraging of the enimie. The earle of *Warwicke* who had the
 guiding of our fore ward, right valiantly had conducted y^e same
 to their standing, & there did very nobly encourage and comfort
 them, bidding them pluck by their hearts, and shew themselves
 me, for there was no cause of feare. But to return vnto y^e Scots,
 they were somewhat disordred with their coming out about the
 slaughter of our me, the which they did so earnestly then intend,
 that they took not one to mercy: but more they were amased at
 this aduenturous & hardy onset. My Lords grace hauing before
 this for y^e causes aforesaid, placed himselfe on this *Finnishe* Bray, &
 thereby quickly perceiuing the great disorder of these raging
 horsemen, heind the in fro further straying, who sir *James* sone
 after with great dexteritie brought in good order again, & there-
 with y^e rest of our strengths by the policie of my Lords grace, &
 diligence of every captam & officer beside, were so aptly applied
 in their seate, that where this repulse of y^e enimie & retire of vs,
 was doubted of many to turne to the danger of our losse, y^e same
 was wroughte (according as it was denised) to our gayne and

Fig.

vidozte.

244 *The Battell of Muscledorow.*

vidioie, For first at this slough where most of our horsemen had
 stood, sir *Peter Mentas* captaine of all the hackbutters asfoote, did ve-
 ry valiantly conduct & place a good number of his men in a maner
 at the faces of the enimies. Wherevnto sir *Peter Gamboa* a *Spanis*
arde, Captaine of two C. hackbutters on horsebacke, did readi-
 ly bring his men also, who with the hot continuance of their shot
 on both partes, did so stoutly staye the enimies, that they coulde
 not come further forwarde: then our archers that marched in
 aray on the right hande of our footemen, and next to the enimie,
 prickt them sharply with arrowes as they stood. Therewith the
 maister of the ordinaunce to their great annoyance, did gall them
 with hayleshot, and other out of the great ordinaunce directlie
 from the hill toppe, and certaine other gunners with their peeces
 a flanke from our reerwarde: most of our artillerie and misline
 engines then wholly thus at once with great puissance and vehe-
 mencie occupied about them, here with the full sight of our foot-
 men, all shadowed from them befoze by our horsemen, and duste
 raised, whome then they were ware in such order to be so neare
 vpon them: and to this, the perfect aray of our horsemen againe
 comming couragiously to set on them a freche. The miserable
 men perceyving themselves, then all to late, howe much too much
 they were misinformed, began sodenly to shrink. Their gouer-
 nour that brought them firste to the bargaine, like a doughtie
 Captaine, tooke hastily his horse, that he might runne foremoste
 away. The Earle of *Argushe* and other chiefe Captaines did
 quickly followe as their Gouvernour ledde, and with the foremost
 their Irishmen. Therewith then turned all the whole route, cast
 downe their weapons, ranne out of their wardes, off with their
 Jackes, and with all that ener they might, betooke them to the
 race that their gouvernour began. Our men had founde them at
 the first, and sharply and quickly with an uniuersall outcrie they
 flew, they flew, pursued after in chase againe, and thereto so eger-
 ly, and with such fiercenesse, that they overtooke many, and spa-
 red in deede fewe. Before this, at the time of our onsette came
 there Castwarde five hundred of their horsemen by along thys
Fauxside Braye, streight vpon our ordinaunce and cariage. By

The Battell of Muscleborough. 245

Lozdes grace (as I sayde) most specialllye for the doubt of the same, placing himselfe thereby, caused a pæce or two to be turned towarde them : with a fewe shottes whereof they were some turned also, and fledde to *Dakirh*. But to returne vnto the Scottishe chase, it was continued with bloud and slaughter fure miles in length, westwarde from the place of their standing, whiche was in the fallowe fieldes of *Kndreske* vntill *Edenborough Parke*, and welnyng to the gates of the towne it selfe, and vnto *Lyth*, and in bzeadth nye foure myles from the *Frish* sandes vp toward *Dakirh* southwarde . In all which space, the deade bodies laye as thicke as a man maye note cattell grasing in a full replenished pasture. And for the smalnesse of our number, and shoytnesse of the time (which was scante fure houres (from one welnie vnto fire) the mortallitie was so great, as it was thought the like afoze time not to haue bene sene. In dæde it was the better maintained with their owne swozdes that laye eche where scattered by the way, whereof our men as they had brokenthone, still toke vp another, there was store inough, and they layde it on freely, that right manye among them at this businesse brake thre or foure ere they returned homeward to the armie . There were thus slaine in fiede, of Scottes xiiij. thousande of the which number (as we were certailye enformed by sundrie and the best of the prisoners then taken) beside the Earle of *Loghemwor*, the Lozde *Fleming*, the Maister of *Greym*, the maister of *Arskin*, the maister of *Ogleby*, the maister of *Auendale*, the maister of *Rouen*, and many other of noble birth among them : there were of Lardes and Lardes sonnes, and other Gentlemen slayne, aboue cccvj. C. and xv. C. were taken prisoners, among whome were there of name, the Earle *Huntley* Lozde Chāuncelour of the Realme there, the Lozde of *Bester*, *Hobbie*, *Hambleton* Captaine of *Dunbarre*, the maister of *Sampoole*, the Lard of *VVimmes*, and a brother of the Earle of *Casselles*. Two M. by lurking and lying as though they were deade, scaped away in the night all maimed and hurt. Wherewith wā we of their weapons and armour more than we woude boughfise to give cariage for, and yet were they conveyed thence by shippe into these partes, of *Jacks* speciallly and

swords aboue xxx. M. The camp also was taken wel replenished with their simple victualles, and also some peeces of plate and chalices were founde. After this my Lordes grace toke the towne of *Lyth*, with thirtene vessels in the hauen, the which he burnt with the towne, brought vnder the Englishe obedience all *Tuidale*, and their marches, all the *Lardes* and *Gentlemen* thereof comming in, and swearing fealtie, and within the mids of the lande did wyne (and placed there garrisons) *S. Colmes Ince*, and *Broughtie crag*, a place of greate importance standing at the mouth of the riuer of *Tey*, whereby all the vse of the ryuer might be cut from *Saint Johns towne*, *Dundee*, and many other townes in those partes. And vpon *Michaellmas* day returned ouer the *Twede*, with losse not of aboue lx. men.

¶ The Battell of *Weser* fought in *Saxonie* by *Morrice Duke* and *Prince Elector* of *Saxonie* and his confederates, against *Albert Marques* of *Brandenburg*, in Anno. 1553. Out of *Natalis Gimpes*.



¶ When that *Albert* one of the collaterall line of the house of *Brandenburg*, raged with a great power thzough *Franklande*, and *Saxonie*, sparing neyther frende nor foe, he brought his faithfull frende *Morrice Duke* of *Saxon* in his top, who being ayded by the power of *Ferdinande* king of the *Romanes*, *Henrie* the *Duke* of *Brunswicke*, *Philip* the *Lantgraue* of *Hessen*, the *Bishoppes* of *Wurtzburg*, and *Bamberg*, the citie of *Nuremberg*, and other, did by taking of a streite, force *Albert* to fight. The wynde blew with *Albert*, which doth somewhat helpe in fight, and also he had taken a little hill that stode in the playne, and first the great ordinance was shot off on both sides, but with small detriment of eyther armie. But although that *Albert* was inferiour vnto his ennimies in hoysmen, yet he was verye well furnished with

The Battell of Weser.

247

with eyghene goodly Cornets of horsemen, and in footemenne
doe muche overmatche them. The hostes beganne to drawe
neare one vnto the other by little and little, and sodenlye a
most cruell battell was begunne, they fighting on bothe sides
with greate valor and courage. In the middes of the fighte,
Albert commaunded the beste of his horsemenne to charge
foure Cornettes of *Morrice* his men of armes, the whiche was
done, both parties appoaching one so neare vnto the other, that
for lacke of rounge they coulde not breake their Launces. The
shotte encountered together with noble courage, singular
prowes, and incredible alacritie and chearefulnesse. But at the
last, *Albert* being invaded on all parts, and weakened through
the great slaughter and discomfiture of his men, was forced to
seeke safetie by flight, and fleeing with onely eyght horsemen,
left his defeated people, his ordinaunce, furniture, and bag-
gage vnto the mercilesse vslage of his enimies. This battell
whiche was begun in the morning early, continued almost vn-
till night, and was fought in a playne that lyeth betwene the
Duchies of *Brunswicke* and *Lunenbourg*: in the whiche battell were
taken liiiij. ensignes of footemen, and fiftene of horsemen, & there
were slaine iiii. M. horsemen, and many footemen. There were
taken on *Albert* his side, of noble men, the Earle of *Varenberg*,
and *Nicolas Berney*, and many other slaine. On *Morrice* his parte
were slayne, *Charles Vistor*, and *Philip Magnus*, sonnes of *Henrie*
Duke of *Brunswicke*, and many other noble men. Many ensignes
of *Albertes* power were saued, by reason of the greates wodes
that were neare at hande, and also of the speedie appoche of
the night. But *Morrice* himselve being shotte into the bodie at
the battell with a Pistolet, dyed the next daye. There were
some that thought he was not wounded by his enimies, but
by one of his owne familiars, to whome he had done reproche
in former time, the reuenge whereof hee deferred vntill
thys commodious tyme. This one aduerser battell didde so
breake the power of *Albert*, that whereas before he was in-
vincible, a terroure vnto all *Germany*, and spoiled all states
at hys pleasure, hee was neuer afterwarde able to doe anye
thing.

thing, but being anon after againe ouerthrotone in fighte with his small power, by *Henrie the Duke of Brunswicke*, was turned out of all his dominions, and forced to die in banishment.

¶ The Battell of Martiano, fought in the territorie of Sene in Italie, betweene Iohn Iames, Marques of *Marignano*, Generall for *Charles the v.* Emperour of *Rome*, and *Peter de Strozzi* Chieftaine for *Henrie the seconde*, King of Fraunce, Anno. 1553. Out of *Natalis Comes*.



*N*nno domini. 1553. *Henrie the Frenche* king to molest the Emperour *Charles* in *Italie*, sent *Peter Strozzi* a banished *Florentine*, and one of the Marshals of *France*, to take into his protection the noble citie of *Sene*, and to his uttermost to endamage *Cosmo* the Duke of *Florence*, a faithfull fauourer of the Emperour. Which caused *Charles* to sende

the Marques of *Marinian* his Lieutenant in *Milan*, with a power to besiege *Sene*, the whiche he was forced to discontinue, when *Strozzi* inuaded the dominions of the *Florentine*, whome the Marques sought by all meanes to defend: and made *Strozzi* to retire againe into *Sene*, out of the which he came againe, after that his power was so augmented, that he had two thousande *Gascognes*, and so many *Switzers*, two thousand five hundredeth *Lansquenets*, five thousande *Italians*, and about one thousande horsemen, with intent not to refuse to ioyne in battell with the *Emperials*, if that anye good occasion shoulde be offered, althoughe that they were xiiii. thousand footmen of *Italians*, *Spaniards*, and *Almaines*, and one thousande five hundredeth horsemenne, partlie men of armes, and partly light horsemen. Betweene these two hostes passed manie bloudie skirmishes, and namely one vpon the xxviii. of *Iulye*, in the whiche continuing ten houres, were one thousande and two hundred

The Battell of *Martiano*. 249

hundredthaine on the French side : and of the Emperials aboute foure hundredth. But when both armies had long lodged verve neare one vnto another, they were in great distresse for water, for the which they must continually fight when eyther men or horses needed it. Moreover, the souldiours being pinched with penurie of victuals, & tyred with the continuall toyle of skirmishing (& armies lodging so neare together) many were tired with this warfare, & dropped away out of the rampes by little & little, so that both armies began thereby to be much weakened. The Marques of *Martino* made proclamation that al men that would depart from the French campe, shoulde haue safe passage through the Duchie of *Florence*, and if they would serue the Emperour, they shoulde haue better intertainment than the French king gaue them. And like kind of liberall promises did *Strozzi* also cause to be published. On the first of August they skirmished againe, in the which conflikt both the horsemen and the footemen of the Emperials hauing the better, strake no small terror into the heartes of the Frenchmen. But when *Strozzi* sawe that by the *Italians* their flying away from him, he was brought to weake for his enimie, he went about by little and little to withdraue his hoste out of daunger, sending his cariages and ordinance befoze : but yet so, that he would not only not seeme to flee, but also of his owne accord to offer the battell vnto his enemies, the whiche yet he thought he shoulde auoyde, bicause it was so neare night. But his counsels being knowne of the Emperials, were infringed by them, for they incontinently followed him in aray of battell, and light harquebusiers were sent befoze to haggle on the backes and tayle of the Frenchmen, and to hinder their marche vntill that the Emperiall horsemen couldo overtake them, who were gone forth vnto the riuer of *Thiane* for water. The Marques egerly pursuing and following *Strozzi*, thus ordered his armie : He did cast the *Almaines* into a square battell, placing the *Spaniards* vnder the conduct of *Iohn de Luna* in the left wing, and the *Italians* in the right. But the Earle of *San Fiora* stode with all the horsemen on the left side at the foot of the hill called *Womens hill*, ouer right against the French horsemen. But thus were

the French battels aranged : A thicke battallion of *Italian* footemen stood vpon the *Womens* hill directly against the *Spaniards*, another of *Gascognes* and Frenchmen, and a thirde of *Switzers*, the horsemen were sette opposite to the *Emperiall* horsemen, and were guarded with seauen hundred harquebusiers. *Strozzi* had before him *Martiano*, behinde him *Luciano*, on his lefte hande *Fogliano*, and on his right diuers other townes. When both the armies stood thus aranged in order of battell, and the Marques was doubtfull whether he should trye the fortune of the battell that daye or no, he was impelled through many reasons, and specially by the *Spaniards*, to determine to fighte : wherefore after he had giuen the signall, he gotte him vnto the reerwarde. For seeing his foughte almoste agaynst his will, he thought if that anye yll lucke happened, he would proude for his owne safetie : but if that all thinges succeeded well, then he would encourage his souldiours to folowe the victorie. As soone as the signall of the battell was giuen, the Conte of *San Fiora* passing ouer a ditch that ranne along the playne, gaue the charge on the French horsemen, who were all ledde by the Earle of *Mirandula*. They fighte fiercelye on both sides, but the French men being inferiour in number, and also ouermatched by reason of the strength of the menne of armes, althoughe they were garded with harquebusiers, were put to flighte and defeated, the which happened, because that *Bighet* fledde with the chiefe guydon as soone as euer the enimie gaue the onlette. When thys had happened sooner than coulde be credited, *San Fiora* fearing that there was some ambushe layde, would not at the firste suffer his horsemenne to pursue his fleeing enimies, as the reason of the victorie required. But afterwarde when he certaiuely vnderstode that it was a true fight and not a feygued, he graunted his horsemenne leane to followe the enimie in chace, whiche when *Strozzi* sawe, he utterly casting awaye all hope of the horsemenne, and their repaying of the fight, seeing that the pursuing of the *Emperialles* would graunte them no place to strengthen their course,

course, and to staye and stande, and vnderstanding that he should be environed rounde aboute on all partes, if he dyd come downe into the playne, but on the other side, if that he stood still on the hill, he should be verie greatly annoyed by the ordinaunce of the enimies, and besieged, he of necessity determined to aduenture a pitched fiede. And bicause the streightnesse of the place did so require, he reduced his three battels into one battell, for that at neyther side there was anye vse of harquebusiers, who had in their often skirmishes spent all their poulder, and emptied their flasks. The Emperials standing still, expected the coming & charge of the French men, and namelye seeing the French footemen and *Switzers* came forthwarde verie lustilye and couragiouslye, the Emperialles vsed the benefit of a good deepe ditch that ranne crosse the playne, neare vnto the banke whereof, they placed their foremoste ranks: for it was iudged that they which should firste passe ouer the ditch, would come into great difficulties, and giue an easie victorie vnto their enimie, by reason of the going downe and climbing by againe of the ditch. Now seeing that matters of verie great importance are sette befoze wyse Chiefesaynes, as the glorie of their armies, Emperre, the safetie of their subiectes, and all humane selficitie, they oughte to be mosse circumspecte in all things that doe appertayne vnto their honour, and the safetie of their people, and to prouyde and forsee that those things which are profitable and good for them, if that they cannot gette themselves, yet then at the least to be sure that they suffer not their enimie to haue them, bicause that the commodities of the enimie, doe redounde vnto their calamities. For the which effecte, the natures and dispositions bothe of his owne souldiours, and of the enimies are to be knownen, their counsayles and deuyses to be learned oute, their weapons and martiall furniture to be vnderstode, and their arte in setting their men in aray, and the nature of the place muste be viewed: of the which things if that anye one be not well knownen, or neglected, oftentimes it byngeth all the

The Battell of *Martiano*.

whole state into verie great daunger. For there is nothing so perillous as an hoste aranged in battell against the enimie, for a very light matter, yea and a very small and vaine false rumour may make them to turne their backs, and flee. But to returne vnto the battell, the Frenchmen as they are of nature prone to fighte, and readie to aduenture all warrelike daungers to winne glorie: being nothing at all stayed with the difficultie of the ditch, goe downe into it for to giue the onset on the Emperials. The auantgarde, and specially the foremost rankes which consisted of the most chosen bandes of the whole armie, was put to flight. The difficultie of this ditch toke the victorie almost out of the handes of the Frenchmen, and gaue it without bloude vnto the Emperials: although that the Frenchmen charging the Emperiall *Italians*, had defeated the left wing. Then the Marques fearing least that all his battells would haue the like yll hap, mounting on his horse, got him vnto an hill on the backe of all the hoste, where he might see in what state his armie stood. But anon after when he saue the French battell that had discomfited his left wing, being enclosed rounde by the *Spaniards*, the *Almaines*, and the *Florentines* to be defeated, and chiefly through the valor of the *Spaniards*, who fought worthily that daye, he returned againe vnto his men, to incite them to fight. Thus the most flourishing armie of *Sforza*, & which a litle before was a terror vnto all *Tuscan*, the which houered ouer the walles of the citie of *Florence*, the which threatened slaughter, captiuitie and fire vnto all the towne of the *Florentine* Duchie, was in shorte time ouerthrowen and destroyed, the *Italians* fleeing, and the horsemen being discomfited, afflicted, and put to flight through that ditch, where by it maye plainly appere in howe slipper a place mames state standeth, which is subiect vnto fragile and fickle fortunes pleasure. But whereas in all matters it is conuenient, that men placed in chief charge auoyde errors and dotings, then most specially in martiall affaires, in whome, yea a small error of the Chieftaine doth drawe with it the ruines of Cities and Countries. There were slaine in this battell about foure thousande men, and manie also were killed with intollerable heate, and manie stifled for thirst,
and

The Battell of S. Quintines. 253

and they for the greatest part were Frenchmen and *Switzers*. For the field was foughten the seconde of August. There were taken about an hundred ensignes of footemen and horsemen, and diuers field peeces. There were also taken prisoners by the *Emperials* two thousande of the enemies. There were slaine of men of the greatest marke, the *Lorde of Salenon*, the Colonell of the *Switzers*, with all his pettie captains & ensignebearers, *Reuerace* & colonell of the *Almaines* that were with the *Switzers*, & *Iohn Bentinogli*. Of French captaines, *Cablas*, *Combasse*, & *Iohn de Ville*. Many of the *Italians* Captaines & all the Captaines and Ensignbearers of the *Almaines*. There were also taken *Seignour Forques Galeazzo Bentinogli*, *Carle of Gaizzo*, *Paula Osini*, *Turchetto Agabio*, and *Bartholomewe Aurena*, and many Captaines and Ensignbearers. But *Strazzi* himselfe, and *Aurelio Fregosa*, a man of great authoritie and nobilitie, escaped to *Monte Alino*, but yet wounded with shot. After this ouerthrowe, the greatest part of the towines of the *Senese* territozie yielded, and anon after, the citie of *Sene* it selfe, when the Citizens coulde holde out no longer for famine.

¶ The Battell fought at Saint Quintines

in France, betuene Anne Montmorencie high Constable of France, & General for *Henrie* the French King, and *Emanuel Philibert* Duke of *Sauoy*, Lieutenant Generall for *Philip* King of *Spaine*, in Anno. 1557. Out of *Natalis Comes*,



When *Emanuel Philibert* Duke of *Sauoy*, Lieutenant Generall for *Philip* the King of *Spaine*, beslegged the towne of *Saint Quintines* in *Flemmandou*, with thirtene thousande horsemen, fortie thousande footemen, and eyght thousande Pioners. *Henrie* the second, the French king, being moued with the daunger of the towne which was vnprouided of men, munition, and viduals, to withstande so great a power, sent *Montmorencie* the Constable

with an arme wherein was almost all the nobilitie of France, and twentie thousande footemen, and foure thousande horsemen, and twentie peces of ordinance, to relieue the towne with men, munition, & all other things needefull. The Constable being come within xv. miles of the towne, sent befoze y. *pp.* horsemen, who after they had haunted themselves about none vnto the enemy on a smal hill, they comanded certaine to trie the sword of y^e river which they must passe, y^e which was so narrow, y^e not aboue vj. horsemen could passe ouer at once: but in other places they could not passe the river for y^e gardes of the *Spaniards*. *Where* the Duke of *Sauoy* vnderstande that the Frenchmen had sounde the sword, he sent a great number of harquebusiers to keepe it. But the thirde day after, which was the feast of *S. Lawrence*, the same horsemen, but many mo in number, with many footemen, shewed themselves againe vnto the *Spaniards*, who coulde not by reason of the iniquitie of the place, perceiue what number they were: but the Frenchmen determined to passe ouer y^e river, hauing brought with them soz that purpose small boates & brydges. The french ordinance began to shote off vpon the *Spaniards*, & not without their great damage, and the boates began to take the water, to transpozt the french souldiours, whome the *Spanishe* harquebusiers, vnto whome was sent a freshe supplie of foure hundzeth, did much annoye. Then the Duke also determined to passe ouer the river, (the which was thre miles from the towne) and to fight with the enemy, after that he had by very faithfull espies learned the number of the Frenchmen. *Wherefoze* the matter being communicated with the Conte *Egmont*, who was one of the chiefe of the nobilitie of the lowe Countrie for landes, birth, and authoritie, and also not vnskillfull in partiall affayres, and with other of the nobilitie, it was resolved that this present occasion should not be let slip, seeing that their enemy was inferiour vnto them both in number and strength, *Egmont* was commaunded to passe ouer the river with one thousande horsemen of *Burgonions* and *Spaniards*, and *Ernest* and *Erick* Dukes of *Brunswicke* shoulde backe him with their two thousande and v. hundzeth horsemen: after whom the

Conte

Conte Mansfeld followed with epght hundred Pistolets, and then the Conte Horne with one thousande men of armes of Gellers, and with him about a thousande of other men of armes of diuers bandes, passed ouer the riuer, and also some light horsemen, so that they were in all about seauen thousand horsemen. They were not so sone ouer the water, but Egmont ranged bys souldiours against the Constable, who was come thither to diuert the spaniardes, and to molest them with skirmishes, vntill that in another quarter reliefe might be sent into the towne, for that was the Constables intent, the which when he had done, he determined to retire backe in aray of battell, and to saue himselfe through the benefite of the hilles. And in dede by this skirmishing with the spaniardes, he opened oportunitie vnto three hundred footemenne to enter the towne: but when he sawe that Egmontes horsemen, and afterwarde the whole armye were passed the riuer, he beganne to drawe backe by little and little towardes the hilles, skirmishing with the spanishe lyght horsemenne, who indenuoured to hinder their flight, vntill that all the spanishe horsemenne were come, and all the footemen had passed ouer the riuer. When the French men had giuen backe a little waye, they were forced by the imminent daunger to flaye, and to set their men in aray of battell: But Egmont who saw that assured victorie was offered him, after that he had stayed a little while, not thinking it good to omit the present occasion, gaue a charge vpon the greater troupe of the french horsemen with incredible valor, being backed by the Dukes of Brunswicke with one thousande pistolets, he admonisheth Ernest Duke of Brunswicke, whom the Earley of Horne, Mansfeld, and Hochstrat shoulde followe, to giue the charge on an other troupe of two thousande frenchmen of armes. Ernest with surpassing courage ranne vpon the french troupe, who mette him with lyke fortitude and constancie of heart, and at the firste susseynded the spanishe force with so greate prowes, that they had almost put them to flight. Thus they fought very fiercely on both sides, and manye were slaine, but at length the frenchmen being overcome by the number of panish horsemen that

that still increased, were forced to retire unto their footemen by little and little, but when *Egmont* and the rest of the nobilitie followed them fiercely, they came unto the footemen, who standing close together in thicke Squadron, strongly sustained the shooke of the *spaniards*. When that the fight had bene long time doubtfull, the Duke of *Sauoy* sent a freshe troupe of horsemen, and willed *Egmont* to giue a charge vpon the footemen, and not to abuse the benefite of fortune, who had offered so easie and assured victorie: for if he shoulde make any stay, he thought that thereby the victorie woulde slide away, and be wrested out of their hands, because that the enimie hauing by this meanes leisure graunted them, might gather together, and relve their strength, and confirme their horsemen, who were almost defeated. When they had thus fought long, and on the one side *Egmont* invaded valiantly, and on the other, the Frenchmen resisted stoutly: at the last, the Frenchmen fled, and repaied all hope of safetie in the swiftnesse of their feete, whom *Egmont* and the rest speedily pursued, and quite defeated all the French power. There were taken of the Frenchmen, the Constable, hurt in the thigh with a Pistolet, the Dukes of *Longuille* and *Montpensier* hurt in the heade, the Marshall of *Saint Andrewe*, *Lewes*, brother to the Duke of *Mantua*, *Vassy*, *Curton*, *Roch du Maine*, the *Ringraffe Colonnell* of the French *Lanquenets*, & all these were of the order: the *Comte Rochefoucault*, the *Lordes Obegny*, two *Birons*, *Monbrun*, and *Merne*, (being two sonnes of the Constable) and a great number mo. Finally, about two thousand of Noblemen and Gentlemen, and of all sortes of souldiours, to a foure thousande, fiftie two ensignes of footemen, eyghtene guidons of men of armes, and xx. of light horsemen, xx. peeces of ordnance, of whom ten were battering peeces, the rest field peeces, iij. C. wagons laded with martiall furniture and provision, with a great number of horses. There were slayne of Frenchmen, to the number of sixe thousande: among whom men of great marke were *Iohn Duke of Angliou*, brother vnto the king of *Nauarre*, the *Vicomte Tournai*, nephew vnto the Constable, and the *Lordes Campdenarie*, *Eynis*, *Galan*, *Plenis*, *Gilot*, and manie other noble men. There escaped the
Dukes

The Battell of Graueling. 257

Dukes of *Neuers* and *Montmorencie*, the Prince of *Condé*, the earle of *Saxerre*, the *Lorde Burdelion*, and great number of other noble men. But on the *spanishe* part were slayne somewhat aboue one thousande, among whom were of name *Binicourt* the maister of the Campe, two noble men of *Germanie*, and diuers other, and the Conte *Mansfeld* was hurt in the thigh, and *Monbrey* in the knee. After this victorie, the *spaniards* wanne *Saint Quintines*, *Haron*, and *Chastellat*, and frælpæ ranged about in those partes all that Sommer without any impeachment.

¶ The Battell foughte at Graueling in Flaunders betvvne Monsieur de Termes

Generall for *Henrie* the seconde, King of France, and the Conte *Egmont* Chiefetaine for *Philip* the king of *Spayne*, in Anno. 1558. Taken out of the Commentaries of *Lewes Guicciardine*.



Ofte warres continuing still bettwæne France and *Flanders*, *Henrie* the french k. in June in Anno. 1558. sent from *Calice* Monsieur de Termes, a valiant and experte Captaine, one of the order, and captaine of *Calice*, with an armie of almost nyne thousande sctemen, and a thousande and five hundzeth hozsmen to roade and wast the confines of *Flanders*. With this armie he passing ouer the riuier of *Ha*, defeated a multitude of peysants, and certaine bandes of souldiours that went about to impeach his passage, and then leauing *Graueling* and *Burburg* on his backe, he suddenly by assault tooke *Dunkirke*, a towne on the sea coast fife leagues from *Calice*, and after he had sacked it, and left a garrison therein, he went further into the countrie, wretchedly wastring with fire and swoode, euen into *Nelyport*. To repelle this raging of *Henries*, *Philip* the King of *Spaine*, and Duke of *Burgun*, sent the Carle of *Egmont* into *Flanders*, who wounding at

Graueling with *Monseur Binicourt* the Campe maister, and sending for the souldiours that laye in garrison at *Bethune*, *Saint Omers*, *Are*, *Barburg*, and other towres adioyning, and also receyuing a supplie of souldiours from the Duke of *Sauoy*, a lieutenant generall for the King of all his lowe countries, and armies therein, within fewe dayes gathered together an armie of twelue thousande footemen, and three thousande horsemen, besides almost an infinite number of peysants, who being enraged for the losse of their goodes, and waisting of their lands, flocke thicke and threefolde from all partes vnto the campe, part armed, and part vnrarmed. In the meane tyme *Termes* hapning drawne backe his power vnto *Dunkirke*, because he was cruelly molested with the goutte, and smelling out that a tyde wold turne was ment him, commaunded the armie to depart from *Dunkirk*, and to encampe within a leage of *Graueling*, that he might be the nearer vnto *Calice*. But as soone as he had intelligence that a great power of the enimies were sodenly gathered together, & that *Egmont* was their general, he neglecting his torment of the goutte, called for his horse, & rode incontinently vnto the campe, the which was pitched in a comodious and well defended place. Not long after, *Egmont* and *Binicourt* came in sight with their armie aranged in order of battell, & with haughtie harts lodged within an harquebuste shot of the frenchmen, and with incredible ferocitie skirmished with thē in all quarters. When *Termes* calling the Captaines together that same night, because he sawe that he was farre overmatched in number of souldiours, and he was enuironed in his enimies lande, as it were with an enclosure of infestuous towne, & that the power of the *Burgonions* did daily encrease, he concludeth to flee back vnto *Calice* the next day along the sea landes when it was low water, & so to escape by the benefite of nature. At the which oportunitie, the frenchmen, as they had before determined, came hosully vnto the mouth of the riuer of *Ha*, where it runneth into the sea aboue *Graueling*, & nowe it being low water, easily passed over the riuer. On the other side as soone as *Egmont* vnderstode of this flight of the frenchmen, he speedily passed over the riuer beneath the towne, that

The Battell of Graueling. 259

that he might stoppe the passage of the fleeing enimie. This was done the xij. of July. When he mette with the enimie on the front about Calice Once, and in the sight of Graueling. Here when *Termes* sawe that he was intercluded from his intended Iourney, he seruing the time, wholye prepared to fight, and when the broad sea laye on the one side of him, but on the other a playne without any tree, bush, hill, or any other impediment, and he coueted to haue the place of most aduantage, as much as might be, he aranged his hoste in this order: he directed all his armie on the right hande northward, on the which quarter the sea flowed, and therefore did well defence the one side, but on the left hande Southwarde, he did set the wagons for a trenche, and his backe was garded with the riuer of *H.* So that the Frenchmen being safe on all other sides, laye open vnto the *Burgonions* onely at the fronte, where befoze their ranks they placed all their ordinaunce, which were sixe Culuerings, and three Falcons, yet so, that large spaces were left betwene for the horsemen: that by this meanes, both the ordinaunce, and also the incursions of the horsemen might at once infect the enimies, both sides of which horsemen were flanked with *Gascons* harquebussiers. The reuerwarde and thirde battell consisted of Frenchmen and *Lansquenettes*, who stode at the backes of the horsemen with blended ranks, *Lansquenets* and Frenchmen together, that they might succour their fellows, if that neede shoulde be. But although that *Egmont* had no ordinaunce (which had bene left behinde, that they might march the more speedily) yet he not gretly forced that his enimies did therein ouermatch him, for he trusted chieflie in protines and valor. He then knowing that the enimies had betrayed their feare by their premeditated flight, & that they ment to bzie away with them a mightie bootie, communicating his deuise with y^e captains, determineth incontinently to fight, least y^e *Termes* might else scape out of his hand by the coming of frethe ayde. nothing regarding the common *W*aruerbe: that we must not only giue way vnto our fleeing enimie, but also make a waye for him. *Egmont* encouraging his souldiours to fight, doth thus arange the. He deuiseeth al

the horsemen into five troupes, commanding the light horsemen to ryde befoze in thre troupes, of whome the Earle of *Ponteuuaules* a *Flemming*, gouerned the right wing, and *Eriques* a *Biscayan* the left : but the middle battell *Egmont* reserued for himselfe. Behind the light horsemen followed a troupe of *crossers* with *Pistolets*, and then a troupe of men of armes of the lowe Countreimen, a certaine space being left betwene eyther of the battels. Then were all the footemen deuided into thre battels : the footemen were high *Almaines*, *Nederlanders*, whose regiment was greatest, and certaine bandes of old *Spanishe* footemen : they were led by their Colonels, *Hilmaner* of *Munichausen*, *Bancourt*, and *Carnual*. The armie being thus aranged, *Egmont* cried out with a loude voyce, we haue vanquished : All that haue regarde of their owne prayse, or the glozie of their countrie, let him followe me, and setting their spurs vnto their horses, runne in with me among the thickest of our enemies. And sodenly as sone as he had spoken the worde, he giuing the signall, ran forth. The prepared *Frenchmen* doe manfully sufferne the charge of the *Burgonions*, and with their ordinance commit great slaughter in the foremost rankes, so that *Egmonts* horse fell downe vnder him. But the *Burgonions* being nothing appalled with this chaunce, valiantly insist in their enterprise, & are caried with all their whole strength vpon the enemy, by the admonishment and impulsiori of *Egmont*. Incontinently all 3 battels on both sides ioyned together, they fight with swordes, launces, pykes, harquebusses, pystolets, halbarbs, & al other weapons. The troupes of horsemen encounter one the other, & so likewise the footemen : finally they fight with hand strokes, setting foote to foote : whether this hapned by chaunce, or whether it was prouided by the industrie of the captains, certes it seemed a strange and also a marueylous thing, yea vnto those that were skilfull in martiall affaires, who did plainly say, that it had not happened in our age, that any battell was fought with such equalitie of all rankes, and orders, and weapons, and toynded together in such indifferent sort. Thus they fought verie sharply a long and doubtfull battell. For although the *Languequets* made still, and fought not, yet the valor of the *Gascons* footmen

men was so great, that they supplied the others lack, & with their strength susteyned almost all the brunt and force of the battell: for the Lanquenets standing still, as it were men separated from them, and left a certaine space of, the Gascons flew upon the bzging Burgonions, they resisted them, and with haughtie heartes receyved their oppression. The French horsemen also encountered, but more slowly and dissolately than their wont is, neither as it became Gentlemen of their qualitie, although that according unto the maner of that nation they were chosen men, and very well and bravely appointed with all furniturie and horses. Moreover, while that they fought so valiantly, and with so great contention of heartes, that neyther partie woulde turne their faces, a strange & marueylous chaunce happened: for at the same time ten Englishe shippes chaunced to sayle by, who deservyng the encounter when they were in the maine sea, made towarde them, and it being full sea, came neare vnto the shore, and with their ordnance dis beate the side of the French armie, the which we tolde you before, lay full upon the sea. The French men being dismayed with this sodayne chaunce, began to be in greete feare, distrusting that no shippes woulde come vnto them. But on the other side, the Burgonions pressed the more instantly, & when they had defeated the horsemen, anon after they also disordered the footmen, and so at the last quite overthrew and defeated all the whole French power, not without great honour generally of all orders, but chiefly of the light horsemen, and particularly of Agmont, who deserved the high commendation both of a wise chieftaine, and also a valiant souldiour, through whose approved noble courage, and valiant heart that notable victorie was chiefly gotten, but yet so that the rest of the Captaines deserved singular praise, as Monsieurs Binicourt, Renty, Rues, Enriques, Pontenauls, Fontcynes, Hilmaner of Munchausen, and Carnaial. On the other side Thermes who had the overthrowe, is repproved of many for carelesnesse & also slouth, for that he had overlong deferred his returne, and had not at the least removed his campe the night before the fatall fiede: for the report was, that he of couetousnes seeking to get a very rich bootie of the spoyle of Flaunders, did

pretermit a fit oportunitie of free regresse : But some doe affirme that he stayed in Flaunders by the Kings commaundement, to whome, the rumoz was, that the King had appoynted to sende aydes . But howsoever the matter was, doubtlesse *Termes* erred in this, that he suffered himselfe to be intercluded by that meanes, and after a sort to be oppressed . But of the number of the slayne, there were diuers reportes, as it alwayes happeneth in the brutes of the people : but we diligently enquiring the truth, haue hearde of men most worthe of credite, and of those souldiours that were present at the battell, that there was a publike note taken of about one thousande five hundred slayne in the battell . But of them that fledde, farre the moste were slayne by the peasants, who had gotten them into the streyghtes, thzough which the discomfited frenchmen did like to escape . Besides the greateslaughter, foule ignomie also happened vnto the frenche men : for the Flemmische women as well of the towne as countrey, lyke *Lacedemonian viragoes*, assembled together in great troupes, and when they mette with a french man, they woulde rayle vpon him for that he had wasted Flaunders, spoyled their towne, and burnt their houses, and when one of them coulde not kill him, manye of them woulde flie vpon him, and pittfully feare him with their nayles, or beate him well and thurstily with their Distaves . That in the meane time they maye be wrapped in deepe silence, whome eyther the river swallowed bype, or the sea and tyde ouerwhelmed . But the Englishmen leauing their shippes at anker, rowed in the long Boates vnto the shoze, and take alyue about two hundred of those frenchmen that swimmied in the sea, who although they might haue drowned, yet moued with sweetenelle of glorie, they did take vp into their Boates, that thereby they might as it were partakers and helpers of that battell, be able to shewe at home in Englande sure witness of so famous a victorie : the whiche few they hauing gotten of many, did vnto their ignomie transport into their countrey, as it were for a triumph . Whereouer of those that being intercluded from sight, were taken prisoners,

The Battell of Graueling. 263

(of whome there were a great number) these are numbred for the chiefe: first of all, the Lorde *Termes* the Generall of the armie and Captaine of *Calice*, who had receeued a grieuous wounde, not onely in his fortune, but also in his bodie, and with him the Lodes *Danebault*, *Villebon*, and *Simarpont*, and manye other menne of verie good qualitie, whome for breuities sake we doe passe over in silence. Moreover, they lost all their ensignes, ordinance, munition, bagge, and baggage, and all the furniture of the campe, and also all the bootie that they had gotten in *Flanders* fell into *Eymont* and the *Burgonions*. There were slayne on *Eymont* his part fine hundreth and not aboue. But among them was *deuiseux de Peley* a noble manne of the lowe countrie, with some number of horsemen and footemen that were of great marke, and accounted among the chiefe. Those three bandes whome we tolde you *Termes* had placed in *Dunkirke*, when that he departed into the campe, he commaunded to sacke and fire the towne, and streightwaie to followe him, the which they did, but being intercluded by the victors *Burgonions*, they were slayne every man. This noble victorie no doubt did muche repress the insolencie and ferocitie of the Frenchmen, that then had a great power in the Duchie of *Luxenburg*, and made the French King verie glad to encline into peace, the whiche did take effecte within fewe moneths after.

¶ The

¶ The Battell of *Dreux* fought in *Nor-*
mandie betwene *Levves* of *Burbon* prince
 of *Conde*, & *Anna Montmorencie* high Constable of *France*,
 in the yeare of our Lorde 1562. Taken out of the Commem-
 oraries of the state of Religion, and the Common wealth in
France.



When that the furious ciuil warres in *France*
 for religion, brake out in *Anno domini*. 1562.
 the Prince of *Conde* Generall for the refo-
 med religion, marched into *Normandie* to
 ioyne with the English armie that then was
 landed at *Netve haven*, to impeach the whiche
 purpose, the power of the contrarie faction
 vnder the conduct of *Anna Montmorencie* the Constable, basted
 from *Parys*, and came with greate armies into the territoie of
Dreux, where *Conde* also had stayed: and the two armies lodged
 within two leagues one of the other. The Catholikes had cho-
 sen a commodious place to lodge in, being neare vnto the towne
 of *Dreux*, wherein they had a garrison, and vnto diuers villages,
 and also vnto a towne, which was good for all sodeine defences of
 vncertaine euent. There lay betwene both their campes, a long
 and euen playne, onely in one part there was a little valley be-
 twene them. When *Conde* sawe that his enimies were
 come so neare vnto him, he consulting with his associates what
 was to be done, determined to giue them battell, that the ende of
 the whole matter being committed vnto the prouidence of God,
 the long lingering calamities of the warres might be more spee-
 dily ended. And yet his enimies did sarre ouermatche him in fore-
 men, for they had fife and twentie thousande, whereas the *Conde*
 had scarce eleuen thousande, but it was partlixe recompenced in
 his horsemen, he hauing almost foure thousande, where his eni-
 mies had but three thousande. The next morning a little afoze
 epght of the clocke, the Prince brought forth all his armie, the
 which

which he had so aranged, that the horsemen wherein he was the stronger, should be in the foremost rankes: he himselfe ledde the battell with *Rochefcault*, taking to him certaine light horsemen of *Cureys* his companie, and placing on the one side of him the cornets of horsemen ledde by *Monty* and *Anarell*, and on the other side certayne cornets of *Reyffers*. But the avantgarde was garded by *Chastillon* the Admirall, with the Prince of *Porcien*, setting close vnto them two troupes of horsemen consisting of certaine cornets. Then followed a strong battallion of *Lansquenets*, and five hundred loose shot, whome they doe call *Eufans perdus*, who marched a little before the battallion. Then was there placed a strong Esquadron of xxij. ensignes of French footemen to garde the great ordinance, and this Esquadron was guarded with a wing of *Reyffers*. Thus *Conde* went towarde the enimie in aray somewhat broade & deepe. But his enemies were redy aranged in this order: the Duke of *Guise* led the one wing of the avantgarde with a strong troupe of horsemen, nere vnto who stood two Esquadrons of *Spaniards* footemen, and of *French* footemen, olde souldiours with fouretene peeces of ordinance, and the Marshall of *Saint Andrees* guided the other wing with a strong troupe of horsemen, and was garded on the one side with a battallion of *Lansquenets*, and on the other with a battallion of horsemen. Of the maine battell the Constable led one wing with a strong troupe of horsemen, neare to whome were placed a battallion of seuentene ensignes of French footemen, whome there followed xij. ensignes of *Switzers*, with eyghtene peeces of greate ordinance, the other wing his sonne *Danville* ledde, with a strong troupe of horsemen. Thus stood the battells of the Catholikes in great length, on a row, here footemen and there horsemen being still intersered. The Admirall stood ouer right against the Constable, and *Conde* against *Danville* and the *Switzers*, but no bodie against *Guise* and the Marshall of *Saint Andrees*, who were in the avantgarde. *Conde* first gaue commandement that the souldiours shoulde be present at diuine seruice, and that being ended, he ryding about vnto the rankes, adhorted them to constancie and confidence: and hauing thus prepared their heartes,

Apv.

be

he gaue the signall, and he himselfe, *Curey* going befoze with the light horsemen) charged vpon the *Switzers* in that part where he saue they were bared of horsemen, and strongly brake thorowe them, *Rochfoucault* in the meane time standing still. The *Switzers* at the first stoutly susteyned the charge, partly through the power of their ordinaunce, and also the strengthe of their owne weapons, but yet through the thicke hable of the shotte, they began to giue ground, and anon after not being able to beare the force of the horsemen their Launces brake their aray, and forsooke the great ordinaunce, and were scattered, the *Condeans* raging with great slaughter. And almost at the same momēt the Admirall charged the Constable, and in the meane time the vpper troupes of the *Reyfters* ryding vnto *Dannills* troupes, skirmished with their pistolets. While *Conde* had with great slaughter defeated and put to flight the *Switzers*, he gaue a charge on the next battallion of French footemen, and breaking through their ranks, discomfited and put them to flight. But there was a furious fight betwene the Admirall and the Constable: but at length the Constable his men beganne to shrink backe, and after that the Constable being wounded in the face with a Curtelace, and soze bruised with small shot of pistolets, was taken, they fledde, the Admirall and *Conde* pursuing them. But while that *Conde* his horsemen, were busied in pursuing of the enimie, the French and *Almaine* footemen were left naked, which *Dannill* espying, charged vpon the *Almaine* footmen, who fledde at the first sight of the enimie, towarde a village called *Blinwill*. Then a strong troupe of *Guises* horsemen gaue a charge on the French footemen, and brake their aray, and quyte defeated them at the first shooke, taking the ordinaunce, and committing great slaughter, yet when that diuers of the French footemen sought couragiouslye, manye of the *Guisean* horsemen were slayne. Whereouer *Dannill* seeing *Conde* his horsemen to be disordered and disperfed by pursuing the *Switzers*, and the Constables troupes, charged vpon them, & wounding the *Conde* with a Pistolet, and vnhorsing him, did take him prisoner. When the Admirall saue his fellows fleeing in all places.

res, and also the *Reiflers* giuing backe vnto a woode in a thicke troupe after their guyse, that when they had recharged their Pistolets, they might lustily altogether recharge the ennemie, (the which vantage of theirs being vnknowne vnto manie, did put them in greate feare, they suspecting them to flee) and finally when he percepued that all the *Condeans* were nowe in dispayre because that *Conde* was taken prisoner, he was verie penfise, namely when he sawe three mightie troupes of horsemen of the auantgard of the ennemie (wysely reserued by *Guise* for the last hunt) to make towardes him. In these troupes were the Marshall of *Saint Andrewe*, the Dukes *Daumall* and of *Neuers*, and other noble men: but they saye that the Duke of *Guise* stode still with other bandes that had not yet foughte, for to beholde the ende of the battell: then the Admirall speedilye relying all the *Frenche* and *Almaine* horsemen that he was able to make, and also by the returne of those *Reiflers* that I sayde went aside vnto the woode, their heartes being confirmed, stoutlye susteyned the charge of their enemies. When there beganne a sharpe encounter, bothe sides fighting full furiouslye (their heartes being constantlye sette to murther one another) with almoste equall fortune: yet the *Guishins* gaue grounde, and by little and little drew backe, and moze grievous had bene the fighte, namelpe the souldiours of *Conde* being chased, if that the nighte had not parted them, who were wearied with long labour of fighte. Both partes caused the retire to be sounded, and returned vnto their Campes. The Admirall for lacke of horses lefte foure fielde pierces behinde him. In this laste encounter were slayne the Marshall of *Saint Andrewe*s with a Pistolet after he was taken, *Monbrun* the Constables sonne, the Lord *Piennes*, the grand *Priso*, one of the *Guises*, two *Brosseys*, *Giures*, *Annebault*, and a greate number of other of the Nobilitie, *Daumall* was grievouslye hurte, and also *Neuers* who died thereof, and manie other, and an hundred of the nobler sorte were taken prisoners, and also certaine of the order, as *Beaumont*, *Rockfort*, &c. Of the faithfull or Protestantes *Morny* and

diuers other noble men and Captaynes were eyther taken or slayne. God so moderated the euent of so great a battell, that neither part coulde be sayde eyther to haue wonne, or to haue lost the fielde: for on the part of the faithfull, was *Conde* the patron of the cause taken, and on the Catholikes their side, the Constable was taken, and the Marshall of *Saint Andrees* slayne. And as the faythfull slewe a greate number of the Catholikes their footemen, so did the Catholikes of the faithfull their footemen: but no horsemen were slayne on the Catholikes part, and also footemen, for of the xiiij. ensignes of the *Switzers* few were saued. But *Conde* his losse was moze difficill to be hozne and repaired: but *Guise* being better furnished for the warres, had great incommoditie by the losse of so many great Captaines and noblemen, as were there slayne & taken. This battell was fought the xij. of December. The Admirall gathering together his power, returned vnto *Orleans*, and the *Guise* vnto *Paris*, eyther of them to repayze their soze weakened armies.

¶ The Battell foughte at *Saint Dennis* neare to Paris in France, betwene *Leues* of *Burbon* Prince of *Conde*, and *Annas Montmorencie* Constable of France, in Anno. 1567. Taken out of the booke intituled, The true and entier historie of the troubles and things memorable, which haue happened as well in France as in Flaunders and the countrie about, since Anno. 1562. supposed to be made by the Lorde.



Anno 1576. *Leues* of *Burbon* Prince of *Conde*, the Admirall, *Iasper* Lorde *Chastillon*, and other their confederates doubting their safetie, and suddenly leuying a power, sought to famishe *Paris*, whither the King was fled from *Meaulx*: but *Montmorencie* the Constable as soone as he had receyued power from all partes, issued out of the Citie of *Paris*, to fight with the Confederates or Protestants, who were encamped.

ped at the towne of *S. Denys*, the which is a place renowned for the Coronation of the French Kings, and the rich and excellent tombes of many Kings that doe lie buried in the Abbey of that towne. A little from it on the right side is *Saint Owin*, as on the left the villiage of *Auberuilliers*. The Prince lodged at *S. Denys*, making the forme of a battell, the Admirall at *S. Owin*, and *Jenla* at *Auberuilliers* with their retinues, to be vnto the Prince as it were two auantgardes. Hoze vpon the right hande towarde *Paris* standeth a house of religion called *Montmartre* on an hill. Betwene *Paris* and *Saint Denys* (which are two small leagues one from the other) there lyeth a great and large playne, so cuen and vncumbrd, that one may see from the one end of it vnto the other. This playne is as it were diuided into two parts by a long and large causey which leadeth freyght from *Paris* to *S. Denys*. Close vnto *Saint Denys* on the side of the Causey as one goeth towarde *Saint Owin*, there is a great quarter assigned for to keepe a great fayre in, it is called *Landis*, where there standeth a Chappell which serued the Protestantes to place the *Corps du garde* of *Saint Denys*, as the Catholikes had theirs at a place called *la Chappelle*, as one goeth out of *Paris*. The Catholikes had in their armie of hozes of fight (I doe not account them that serued but only for a number and shewe) thre thousand, and foure score ensignes of foteemen, which might amount vnto eyghtene thousand men. Two thirdes of the Catholike hozemen were companies of men of armes and the ordinaunces of his maiestie. Fewe light hozes, and no harquebussiers on hozesebacke at all. The men of armes (which were the two thirdes of all the hozemen) were mounted and armed to the advantage, the men in complete harness, and their hozes all barded, and caparacorned with chaines, and the hozemen in steade of little Pistolets many bare with their Launce a Pistole, and some a masse of armes, but most were onely Launces. The light hozemen were well hozed, and wore on their heade a Sallet, Bourguignomie, or other suche habilliment, with a Calraisse hause, colbracates, long tassettes, Gantlets, and a case of Pistolets at the Pummell of his Saddle, with a tocke or Coutelas hanging at his side. The ensignes and

guldons of the men of armes were charged with crosses, as also were the ensignes of the footemen, to make a diuersitie betwene them and those of the Protestants. The footemen were divided into three grosse battallions (except those harquebusiers which rested at the Chappell, and those that flanked certayne companies, which made the left of the Constable) who might amount vnto fiftene or sixtene thousande men. One battallion was of five thousande *Switzers*, Pykemen, whose thicke and close hedge both well dare to abyde the shoocke of the strongest horsemen of the worlde, except the furie of the men of armes of Fraunce, armed and barbed as aforesayde, who haue often times broken and defeated them. They were armed with a bourguignonne, a Cuirasse, furnished with a gorget, tassets, long bracats, and gantlets, and manye had flæues of mayle, also the three regiments of french footemen were no otherwise armed, vnlesse it were the harquebusiers, who had nothing but a *Porton*, for the most part of them (but the chiefest had Cuirasses on their backs) for to be the moze nimble & light for to skirmishe. Their white crosse distinguished them from the Protestants, and they namely those that were light armed as harquebusiers, wore a mandile, or such another habite marked with a number of white crosses, that they might not be taken for the Confederates. But the Protestants had not aboue halfe their armie at *Saint Denys*, for *Dandelot* and *Montgomerie* were sent to take *Poissy* and *Ponchoise*, *la Nouë* to take *Orleans*, and the *Comte de la Rochefoucault* and *Mauye* were gone againste the troupes that were leued for them in *Guien* and *Poitou*, to safeconduce them to the Campe: all which things being knowne vnto the Constable, made him to haste that he myghte take the profite of this aduantage. But of the fourtene or sixtene hundred horsemen of the Protestantes, not one was armed with all peeces, both because they dislodged hastily at the commaundement of the Prince, as also for the weakenesse of their horses, who were almost all Cartalles, and suche like base horses, so that there was not one barbed or caparacorned, but they were armed like light horsemen, the two thirdes of them hauing on-
ly

The Battell of S. Denis.

271

ly a helmet, or bourguignonne, a gorget, a cuirasse, braccs, tassets, gantlets, & a couple of Pistols, and after they had shot off them, they woulde set their hande vnto their tocke and Countas. The Callockes of the Protestantes were white, begarded with such colours, as the deuise of the Captaine did demaund. All their footemen were harquebussiers well though furnished, the third part of whom had a Horse for all their defence, with a white scarfe for to discern them from the Catholikes: they also had their Ensignes of diuers colours beguarded with the deuise of the Captaine, in lieu of a crosse which the Catholikes bore. Now I come to declare the intents and purposes of y^e two Chieftaines of the armies. The Constable seeing the small number, and the pl^e assured lodging of the Protestantes, resolved to fight with them. And bicause he sawe that *Saint Ouen* and *Auberuilliers* were the defences of *Saint Denis*, not once thinking that the confederates woulde be so bolde as to come into the fielde, considering their small number, and to make heade vnto so great an army as followed him, and specially seeing that they had not one Canon (bicause that since they tooke the fielde, they had not anye towne that coulde furnishe them) determined to drine the Protestantes out of those two villages into *Saint Denis*, and there to besiege them, and make them yelde at hys pleasure. In verye dede the Protestantes woulde rather haue refused (if they had bene assured of their comming) than haue accepted the battell: but bicause they had intelligence but in the morning, that the footemenne were issued out of *Paris*, and that the Constable was resolved to dislodge, necessitie to saye the truth more than godd will, broughte them to the sighte, the which they woulde haue presented, if that *Dandelot* and *Montgomerie* had bene there with their bandes, who then laye before *Poissy*, yet neuerthelesse they were resolved in no case to gyue the charge before it were towarde the Evening, if it coulde be possible, both as well for to couer, and the better to fauour their retraite, if they shoulde be perforced, as also by so doing, to take awaye from the Catholikes the felicitie of an entier victory and iourney: and finally that in

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the meane time *Dandelot* who had bene sent for, might haſte with all diligence to be there intime. Upon this generall reſolution the Conſtable iſſued out of *Paris*, and leauing the Chappell, whither he ſent a good number of harquebuſiers, marched with his armie ſtreight vnto the villette, for to ſtretch out his armie in length for to take the commoditie of the field, and to ſtande moze like vnto an hedge, than any thing elſe. On the left ſide where of he did ſet the battallion of the *Switzers*, flanked with a good number of *French* harquebuſiers, and all theſe ſtoode for to aſſure ſouretene pæces of artillerie which he had placed in y^e mouth of *Aubervilliers*, towarde the which he made the moſt part of his armie to turne heade: he encamped a regiment of hoſemen on the left ſide of the *Switzers*, and did ſet before them one greate troupe of hoſemen, as it were to couer them, the Captaine of the which troupe was Mareſchall *Montmorencie* his eldeſt ſonne. He had on his left ſide the regimentes and companies of the *Dukes* of *Nemours*, *Longueville*, y^e *Conte de Rez*, *Chaignie*, de *Thoree*, *Laſac*, and many other: cloſe to the whiche companies ſtoode one good troupe of harquebuſiers on ſoote. Behinde thoſe hoſemen, and towarde the Chappell was the regiment of ſoemen of the *Parifians*, who did all glifter almoſt with armour, pykes, and halbardes, and did hide the left ſide of the armie Catholike, the middle and the principall force whereof did the *Switzers* and the Conſtable make. On the right ſide of the *Switzers* were the regimentes of the *Conte Briſſac*, and *Strozzi*. On the right ſide moze higher, did the companies of the Mareſchall *Caffè*, *Biron*, y^e *Alcont de Auchy*, la *Ruiere*, and diuers other which ſtoode moze neare to *Aubervilliers*, they wed themſelues: behinde whome moze lowe than the billet or ſmall towne, ſtoode the Duke de *Aumale*, and Mareſchall de *Anuille*, aſſiſſed on both ſides with two troupes of hoſiuen, as it were for the aſſurance of the *Switzers*, & the *French* ſothen. But now we will ſhew the diſpoſition of the armie Proteſtant. When that the Prince had intelligence vpon a ſodayne, that the Catholikes were iſſued out of *Paris*, drawing with them the artillerie, he well knewe that the daye woulde not paſſe without fight. And therefore all the companies being aduertised, came
into

into the field, being fully resolved for to accept the fight if they were forced, although that their fellows were not come, and stretched out themselves (which thing only rested for them to do) in this forme. As their armie had bene deuised befoze that time into thre partes, so they now also made thre troupes. The Admiral being assisted with *Clermont of Ambois*, his two sonnes, *Renty*, and six cornets of horsemen, and with foure hundred harquebusiers on foote, who followed the horsemen, and were led by *Falseniere*, placed himselfe about *Saint Ouen*, as it were for to corner and defende his lodging right in the face of those that garded the side of the Constable. To the same ende *Ienlu* being accompanied with *Lamaradin*, *Vardes*, *Bressant*, *Desan-court*, & v. or vi. cornets whom three hundred footmen harquebusiers folowed for to helpe them at the pycke of the charge, made the other hoyme, and the forme of a left auantgarde, befoze his lodging at *Aubernilliers*, (against the whiche they sawe that the Catholikes had made heade, and bent the greatest force of their armie) directly against *Biron* and the rest befoze mentioned. To preuaile the better against whome, they had made a ditche from *Aubernilliers*, euē vnto a Windmill, which is betwene the village, and the billet, the which ditch, and the Windmill it selfe, they had filled with manie of the beste harquebusiers that they had, for to salute them that woulde come to seeke them. The Prince of Conde, the Cardinall of *Chastrillon*, *Sechelles*, (who vnder title of Lieutenant conducted the companie of the Duke of *Angieu*) with the two Vidames of *Chartres* and of *Amiens*, the Contes of *Saux*, and of *La Suye*, of *Essernay*, *Brouchauanes*, and *Stuart* accompanied with certaine Scots, with foure hundred harquebusiers, stode lower in forme of the battayle couering *Saint Denys*, and all that runne behinde the crosse which is vpon the causey, and the Chappell of *Lander*, right in the face of the Constable, and of them that were befoze him: All the Cornettes stode along in a rowe lyke vnto an hedge, and their horses were ranged front to front, in such forme as they ment to fight. The cause of this aray (it may be so) was lacke of men to make an entier battallion, or because it is most ordinarie among the Frenchmen, who vse the *Lancer*:

oz to thende they might charge altogether, and not one tarpe
 behinde an other as most doe in battallions. The footemen were
 deuided into thre troupes, as they were before, and they car-
 red no ensignes, but being all harquebusiers, they serued for
Enfans perdus, who as the most assured and resolute to fighte,
 doe beare death engrauen vpon their foreheades, as well for
 themselves, as for those that they first attack. These harquebu-
 siers followed good and neare vnto the horsemen, but when it
 came vnto the poynt that they shoulde go vnto the charge, they
 shoulde aduance themselves forth before vpon the sides for to
 shote right and with assurance vpon the first of the Catholikes,
 that would ioyne with the Protestants, as you shall heare. So
 that the disposition of their armie was in the forme of a spone,
 more than of any thing else, if that their companies had bene
 ioyned together, & had stode nearer and closer one vnto another.
 But as I told you before, they were deuided into thre parts, of
 whom the troupes of the Admiral and *tennis* made as it were the
 two hornes of the Croissant, whereof the battell of the Prince
 made the but or bottome, and the middes was stronger than the
 endes, who not hauing so many Launces & horsemen were more
 cleare, thin, and lesse furnished of men. They had all their forces
 in the fiede, for thinking that none coulde come vnto *S. Denys*,
 but that they muste firste defeat them who couered their lod-
 gings, they left none there, but their Pikemen and Holbarders,
 who not being inowe in number, and sufficient for to make a
 battallion of Pykes in that playne, they would haue to remaine
 in the towne for to garde the baggage, and the Ensignes of the
 harquebusiers. Neyther was it long before that a skirmish was
 attached on the side of *Aubernillers*. The artillerie beganne to
 thunder, and was shot off foure *Rales*, but did little harme: yet
 some died thereof dismembred, and other were so hurt that they
 cursed them all their life after: the skirmishe is reenforced, the
 space betwene the troupes is now couered with the horsemen
 that flie about to the taking, & ruine, & the death one of another:
 his is it that causeth some to turne the noses of their peeces for
 o shote right on the battel, this is it that makes *tennis* (when be-

saw that the light attaches wared still hotter and hotter, and encreased every moment, fearing that the Catholikes would not charge his troups in grosse (to go vnto the Prince to demand of him if he were not of y^e aduise that he might charge according to the occasion & estate of the skirmishe. But as he returned with permission to do it, he sawe that *Vardes* was in sight. For the chiefe Captaine seeing that the Catholikes augmented their number vpon the skirmishers, had no sower made them to retire, but that two companies marched for to overrunne them. Then was he constrained to take part, to range and close together his men as well as he coulde, and hauing desired them not to breake their arape, and to charge with might and mayne, and to enter succour one another, he auanced apace for to receyue the Catholikes, who chaunging their pace into a trot, reencountred them with such furie, that the most assured made their haunces to flee into thiers, the other that coulde not assigne so right, pierced the bodies of the horses: all in generall came vnto the Pistoles and Coutelas, which hastened death to aboue fiftie in that first charge, and there were a good many more hurt that sought not after, namely by reason of the pellets which the harquebussiers that were in the trench made to rayne vpon them that first came to attach *Vardes*, who percepuing that he shoulde not be long able by reason of his small number to stande by agaynst the Catholikes that came to renforce their first men, retired by little and little for to rallye his men with the helpe of the ditche, out of the which came such a strong saluē of harquebusses, that many made conscience for to approche neare vnto it. At the same tyme *Jenlis* (who had assured the rest of his fellows, that he had lefte the Prince and the Admirall (who were readye vpon the poynte to go vnto the charge) fullie resolved to die all of them befoze that the Catholikes should gaine vpon them one fote of ground, and lesse of honour) encouraged them so much, that without making any oration (but only going befoze his troupes as guide) he was folowed of them all: after that he had made the harquebussiers to come forwarde, who being assured by the countenance of their horsemenne,

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woulde meete in the face the foremoste of the Catholikes that woulde present themselves, who (no otherwise than the noble Greyhounde both growe in courage for the first pinche that he hath giuen vnto the chased beast, and as you see the gentle Faucon to founde and to encourage hir selfe the more vpon a bird of praye, bicause that she hath once giuen hir a grype with hir talons:) so in like maner they were allured out to the entier hazard of a iourney by the encounter of *Fardes*. They being all rallyed and incorpozated vnder their Ensignes, had (it might be) layde on the grounde all the Coznets Protestants, if that their harquebusiers, who had nowe cleared and made thirne the foremost and most strongeste rankes, had not caused the courage of manye to quayle, so that they charged no more so couragiously, and therewithall to they were receyued with a resolution so harde, and reencountred with suche pertinacie, that the greatest euill fell vpon themselves. The first charge of *Ienlis* was more cruell than the seconde, although that the least of the thre was verie bloudie for the death of many braue gentlemen that neuer after strake blowe with the sworde. But this is true, that neyther obstinate desperatenesse, nor the helpe of the harquebusiers coulde haue sure warranted them to stande vp long, seeing that the most of the forces Catholike turned into that quarter, if that the most tall charges of the Prince and the Admirall had not made manye to turne tayle, whilest that *Ienlis* and manye of his companions entertayned the fight against the hottest of the Catholikes, giuing leasure vnto them that were most wearied with so long and furious a fight, to remaine quiet, and aranged in battell, and to prepare themselves for the first occasion that shoulde present it selfe vnto them. Nowe cast your eyes toward *Saint Ouin*, and you shall see the Admirall well forwarde, and also immediatly followed by the Prince and all the rest of the armie, who woulde giue and receiue their part of blowes. You haue seene the good meane that the Catholikes had to preuaile with their artillerie, and howe it serued them. During the time of this great thunder, the Captaines of both armies waited for y^e time of their charge, & the commaundements of the Generals, namely the confederates, who

founde

founde the tunes of that Musicke more than verpe violent, and all according with their intention, because they had not one Canon for to answer to that smoking duellrie, which vomited so many curses vpon them, sometime to high, and oftentimes more lowe than the gunners thought, but alwayes doing lesse hurte than the Generall Catholike desired. Herevpon the Admirall had no sooner founde his aduantage, but that he sent to aduertise the Prince of all that he had marked concerning the state of the Catholikes, who stayed not long after to followe him. The Conte of Colignie made his harquebusiers to hasten their pace, and hauing made them to aduance themselves on his side, they serued him to so great purpose, that the reencounter was through them much the more fortunate vnto him. At the same instant he so lustily charged the red Coates, and those troupes that were neare vnto them on the left side (who had come to sake him) that they were not able long time to susteyne the furious pursuite, and were in the ende chased euen vnto the Chappell. Those men that haue flight more naturall and ordinarie than resolution in such affaires, can assure you, that troupes broken and hotly pursued, haue no discretion and consideration of the places through which they passe for to saue the prison of the soule. This caused the greatest part of them to make waye with the force of their horses (who had their sides scorched) through the *Parisian* bandes, whome they very much brake, and also much more affrighted, so that they were not able long time after to reasssure them oute of the trembling feare of *Saint Denys*. And not onely the footemen were discouraged, but also many of the braue horsemen had augmented the number of the other companies. Vpon this the Marschall *Coffe* seeing those of *Ienlu* his regiment to retire by little and little (after that he had appoynted certaine companies for to make heade if they woulde begin agayne) made all the rest of his troupes to turne directely towarde the encounter, whereof we now come to speake, sending one to desire the Marschall *Danwill* and the Duke of *Amalle*, to followe him to the charge which he went to giue (the which they promised him to doe) and so much the more, for that he saw many catholikes so affrighted, that they

disbanded themselves, and also the Protestantes cried in that quarter, victoire, victoire, as though they had bene assured of the gaine of the feld. In another place, and for the same occasion, *Chaignie* aduanced himselfe, and withoute cheape-ning, gane into the troupe of *Cleremont*, who because he had bene soze hurt at the firste charge, would not susteyne the shooke, but retired with a great pace from that charge, whiche was mortall to many of the Confederates. Although that I can not expresse vnto you but one seate of armes at once, yet imagine you that all the troupes, or at the least two thirdes of them were at one tyme encountering together to the ruine of the weaker, and the lesse happye: thinke you that the charges were diuers, and that in diuers places manye troupes did charge one another at once. The Prince was that same tyme in the myddes of the Catholikes: for as soone as he sawe the Admirall charge, he made his menne to departe with such diligence, that the barquebussers that shoulde haue assisted him, could not followe, no: doe any seruice that was of aduantage vnto him. He dismarching, went directly as it were, for to ioine with the Admirall, that they might both togither charge the Constable, and those that made his left side, doubting that the Admirall alone was not able to work the effect: but he had not gone farre, but that the Mareeschall de *Montmorencie* (who conered his father) made all his power to dismarche to giue him on the side, and to put his power to flight, the whiche he had without doubt done, if that certayne which had caste their eye into that quarter, had not aduertised the Prince thereof, who at the same instant, turned heade vnto all his troupes, and encouraged them according as the tyme, and the neare being of the Catholikes would permit: He the *Vidame* of *Chartres*, the Cardinall of *Chastillon*, and many other ranne amayne vpon the Constable, while that the rest of his troupes employed themselves to make head to y^e Mareeschall de *Montmorencie*. Now, whether because all the troupes of the Prince did not afronte their enimie with equall furie and pertinacie, or (the which I do rather beleue) for that the one were better susteyned than the other,

other, without doubt, the two charges had farre diuers euent,
for the Prince marched againſt his part with ſuch violence, that
he ouerthrowe them, being appalled with the long and feare-
full ſight of their companions, whome the Admirall had alſo
before chased, and made ſuch a hole or breach in the great bat-
talion, that the Conſtable being abandoned by aboue a thou-
ſande runne awayes, and finding himſelfe hurt in the face, and
encloſed and preſſed to yelde by *Stuart* a Scot, could not for cho-
ler to ſee things frame ſo yll, aunſwere otherwiſe, than with
blowes of his ſwoorde, with the pummell wherof he gaue *Stuart*
ſo harde vpon the Jawbones, that he coulde not a long tyme
after uſe them with eaſe when hunger preſſed him to moue his
teeth (two or thre of whome leaped out of his mouth, and the
reſt were ſore ſhaken and loſed :) then another Scot ſhot his
Piſſolet into the Conſtables reynes, bicauſe for febleneſſe of
aboue foureſcore yeares, he had put vpon his backe but only a
ſingle & light harnelle. This would haue afrighted the *Switzers*,
thinking that they had bene abandoned by the reſt of all the
hoſemen, of whome they ſaue a great part already diſmayed,
and manye to retire with a great gallop, thinking that all was
loſſe (to the ſoremoſte and moſte hardie of whome, the
gates of *Paris* ſeemed not neare ynoughe,) if that the
Duke of *Sumalle*, Mareſhall de *Anuille*, and certayne other
had not reſſured them, proteſting that they woulde dye be-
fore that anye other euill ſhoulde happen vnto them, than
the feare that they had alreadye conceined. Wherewith
they were no leſſe contented, than ioyfull for the well do-
ing of the Mareſhall de *Montmorencie*, who hauing a lit-
tle while encountred with equall and incertayne ſhocke, cer-
taine of the Princes troupes, in the ende layde the moſte aſ-
ſured and beſt of them on the grounde, making the reſſe to
lee, who broughte a greate feare vnto all their ſoſte menne,
namelye, to thoſe of the Admirall, and the Prince, who
bicauſe they had followed them but a little waye, marched for
to intertaine ſkirmiſhe with the ſoſte menne Catholikes: but
they, who otherwiſe woulde not haue bene made to feare,
being

being reencountred by their fleeing friendes, were entierly and wholly broken, the horses ranne ouer manye of their bellies, who founde themselves verie much offended and greued with thys journey. After this was done, euery troupe dzeue into that quarter, where he hearde the plaintes of his Generall: for in a verie little moment every one leauing the aduantage that he thought he had, turned face: the Catholikes to the cries of the Constable, the Protestantes to the Prince of Conde, who playned of his horse, who hauing his sides trauesed with a Lance, and being hurt with diuers pellets, began to founde vnder him.

By these meanes the place of conflict was by little and little, and within short moment quite abandoned by the fighters, aswel for the hurt happened vnto both the two Generalles, as also because they all sawe that the daye declined, and was come vnto his ende, so that the browne of the night did greatly inuite them to retire. The Prince was no sooner lighted off from his horse, but that he fell downe at his feete starke deade. The Admirall retired from the charge, and seeing the Catholikes to runne from all partes to succour their Generall, turned towards the troupe of the Prince, for to rallye and to deliberate vpon the rest of the journey. But the night comming while that these things were in doing, brought an ende both to the day and the battell, which had endured little lacke of two houres. For the obscure vale of the darke, and the trauayle of so long and hote attaches, did by little and little abate the heate of the mosse couragious, who all in the ende rallyed themselves vnder their ensignes. These things with the rest that are many times founde in such encounters, do authoize me in that which I shal say (for to satisfie them with one word, that being maistred by I cannot tell what blinde passion, may thinke that such an ende of the fight betwene such and so vnequall armies, is very straunge) that men resolute, and despairing of retraite, and of all other meanes than the force of their armes, and in summe, they that will make a vertue of necessitie, may doe oftentimes farre moze than this was.

When the Protestants sawe that they were not pursued, they conducted the Prince vnto *Saint Denis*, where the counsell assembled

bled, was of aduise, that euery one of them attending the coming of *Dandelot* and *Montgommery* shoold retire vnto his quarter for to garde his lodging, and not to shewe signe nor giue occasion vnto the Catholikes to thinke that they were afrayde, or that they woulde refuse an other rencounter. The whiche the captaines did: vpon whom the Catholikes enterprised nothing, seeming to content themselves with the remayning maisters of the fiede, and the disposing at pleasure of all the fiede for to burie their deade, and to leaue the despoyled Protestantes, and to sende the wounded to *Paris*. Those that were appointed to doe it, taried there untill midnight. The Constable was bozne backe wounded to death. The Conte *de Chaune*, *Hierome de Turin*, and mo than fortie other as well Captaines and chiefe, as members of companies left their liues there, whome aboue thre hundzeth other did accompanie, as wel then as afterward, leauing behind them a great multitude of hurt men. Of the Protestants, *Vidame of Amiens*, *de Piquigny*, *de Saux*, *la Suse*, *Saint Andre*, *de Garennes*, and aboue fiftie gentlemen of marke were lost, and mo than thre hundzeth other horsmē. The flight of the footmen was moze notable than the slaughter, although that a good many died there, but few of the Catholikes footmen. This battell was fought the 1. of Nouember. The next day the Protestantes after that *Dandelot* & *Montgomery* were returned with their forces, came in aray of battel, euen vnto the suburbs of *Paris*, presenting battel vnto the catholike armie which was retired into the citie. But they accepted it not, being dismayed with the death of the Constable. But when that the Catholike power honourably encreased, and victuals fayled at *S. Denys*, and also they had intelligence of the coming of *Cassimire the Pfaltz graue* some with a power of *Almaines* for their ayde: the Protestants dislodged from *Saint Denys*, the 10.

of Nouember, and marched to the confines of *Loreyne*, to receiue the

Almaines.

Oo.

¶ The

¶ The ouerthrow giuen by *Lewes* Conte of Nassau, vnto Iohn Earle of Aremberg at *Damme* in *Freselande*, and the discomfiture of the sayde *Lewes* by *Ferdinande* Duke of *Alua*, at *Hieminguen* in *Freselande* afore sayde, in Anno. 1568. Out of *Popellenier*.



Continall troubles, as it were a creeping contagion, attaching also the dominions of the lowe countries or base *Germanie*, *Lewes* the Earle of *Nassau*, brother vnto *William* Prince of *Oranges*, entred *Freseland*, with a power of *Almunes*, vnto whome within short time resorted a greate number of the inhabitants of the Province, and he toke diuers townes thereof, among whom were *Vedem*, standing in the marishes, and *Danville* nere vnto it, and also lying on the sea coast, whereof when that *Ferdinand* Duke of *Alua* Lieutenant generall of all the low countries had intelligence, he sent into *Freseland* for to stay the course of *Lewes* his victoꝝy, the regiment of *Sardaigne*, and his master of the Campe, thre companies of the regiment of *Lumbardy*, thre hundred and thirtie men, *Spaniards* and *Italians*, the Conte *Melga* Lieutenant of *Ghelders*, with part of his owne troupes, and five companies of the regiment of the Conte of *Aremberge*, besides a *M.* souldiours that the Lieutenant of the Conte had assembled at the comming of the Protestantes. But this was not sufficient for to rembarre the Conte of *Nassau*, who daily grewe in forces for any enterprize that coulde be done agaynst him. Then the Duke sent *Iohn de Lynes*, Conte of *Arembergue*, Gouvernour of *Friseland* and *Ouerssell*, and knight of the Golden flæce, to whom he gave one regiment of *Spaniards*, and one of *Lansquenettes*, with a good number of horsemen for to chase *Lodowick*, betwene whom

whom was a hote skirmishe, and well interteyned.

Lodowick for to gayne the advantage, retired to *Damne*. The youthe of *Spayne* boyling in courage, toke it for a slight, and also pursued more contragiously: but they perceived not the ambush that he had prepared for them of fiftene or sirtene hundred hoysmen behinde a worde, at the wings whereof he did set thre hundred hoysmen for to trayne the *Spaniards*, who made a semblance as though they had a mynde to knowe what they were.

Arembergue seeing them, hasted to gayne the bridges of the river whiche were betwene them, with all his forces: at what time he discovered also thre thousand footmen standing in array, & making shewe but of two bandes, whiche had deceived him. Yet neuerthelesse, the *Spaniards* having incorporated thre ensignes into one, & distributed the whole armie into the shewe of five ensignes, were so infortunate on their Chiefe (and also for that time their Generall) (who because the thre hundred hoysmen would sometimes come forwarde, and provoke the, and at other retire againe, presumed some such thing as was in dede) and therefore was loth to fight, that they mutining, called him traitor to the King, and without staying for the Conte de *Megue*, who was hard by them, constrained him (as our desire alwayes groweth greater in things denied) for to leade them streight vnto the iv. C. hoysmen, who fegning that they retired for weakenesse of defence, drew the *Spaniards* beyonde the Bridges: the whiche also still gaue more coulor vnto these inconsiderate footmen, and made them still to aduance themselves further and further. But the Conte of *Nassau* having gotten the Bridges, enclosed them so strait both behinde and on the sides, that he easily slue them welnere all.

The Conte de *Arembergue*, (because he would not lose any one poynte of his reputation, defended himselfe valiantly, but when his horse was slayne, and he himselfe throwne downe to the grounde deade with the blowe of a Pistolet, he ended his dayes, after that he had slayne the Conte *Adolph* of *Nassau* brother to *Leues*, who entred into such a surfe, that he of choler caused thre hundred of the

Spaniards to be hanged up, although there had died twelue hundredeth of them in fight, and so many of other. Sixe peeces of artillerie, all the munitions, parte of the souldiours wages, the casket and plate of the Conte *Arembergue*, and all the baggage of the Campe was lost.

The Conte *de Megue*, and the Conte *Curtis de Martinengo*, drew neare with one troupe of horsemen, of whom *Arembergue* had lacke, and the bandes of the Colonels *Samberg*, but being pursued by the armie victorious, they were constrained to retire into the *Groningen*, the which the Protestantes sodenly besieged, battred, and enclosed in two quarters. Moreover, they being masters of the fielde, robed all the countrie, because the *Spanishe* forces were not united, but scattered through this discomfiture. But anon after *Chiapino Vitelli*, master of the Campe generall, assembled as many men together as he coulede, and encamped befoze *Groningen*, for to remoue the siege of the Protestants, the which he coulede not doe. Many skirmishes were attached and fought. The Conte *Lodowicke* sent twice to *Vitelli* to demaunde a iourney for to ende the warres by one generall battell, the which he woulde not accorde vnto, saying that it was not yet time to fight. Also he expected the Duke of *Alua*, and the rest of his forces, of whome yet he was not well assured, seeing those of the Protestants, although that the Emperour being requested therunto, commaunded Conte *Leues* as he tendered his obedience and dutie, to retire, and to withdrawe his armie out of the countrie, with all possible speede. Wherevnto the Conte answered, that he coulede not doe it befoze that his brother, and the other Princes and Lordes his confederates were aduertised, the which he promised to doe very shortly: yet neuerthelesse many began to ware colde, and namely when that the goodes of certaine of the Colonels were seised and arrested by the Emperour. Yet the siege continued untill the appoach of the Duke *Partiall*, at what time the Conte *Lodowicke* brake vp the siege, hauing befoze sent the baggage towarde *Emden*, breaking downe and cutting off all the bridges and passages for to hinder and stay the enimie, yet not without continuall skirmishes. The Duke hauing sent the
horsemen

horsesmen of the Duke of *Brunswicke* into *Groningen*, because the Countreie being full of soft and tie plaishes and great ditches, is very ill for horsesmen, followed the Protestants even unto *Secloten*, where they made their stay. In the meane time he sent some to beate the wayes on all sides, and for to learne out the intents of the Conte: in the ende he understode that the *Rende-vom* was at *Hicm. guen*, whither certaine horsesmen and footemen were come unto him, there minding to stay for the Duke and his suite. For the which purpose he took the deepe river of *Hems* for to barke him, lodging his campe in a place very strong also on either partes, for he was flanked with great ditches, chanelles, and rivers, and he coulde let out the water vpon the Duke and his men at ease, and had on the other side the rich towne of *Embsen* at his backe, all the which seemed to be for his advantage.

The Duke approached within two leagues of *Lodowicks* army, and being resolved vpon his aduerisements, sent the Captaines *Sancho d'Aquila*, and *Montero*, with an hundred Argolets or harquebusiers on horsebacke, for to attache the skirmish, and to traine him out of his fort. Besides this, he charged *Julian Romero* maister of the Campe to followe them with five hundred harquebusiers, and three hundred Muschats, who were followed by the Campe maister *Sancho de Londaiguo*, with one thousand harquebusiers, appointing *Cesar Gonzaga*, and *Martinezguo* with two companies of men of armes to be on the wings of the footemen. *Alphonse de Vllas*, and *Dom Gonsalvez de Bracamont* conducted the rest, with charge not to depart out of their place without his expresse commandement. In the taylor of these Spaniards footemen, he set fire ensignes of *Almaines*, followed by sixtine companies of *Vallons*, and after, the light horsesmen three hundred Launces, and the Coquette of *Hans Kernan*, all along one at the taylor of another, by reason of the nature of the countreie, for they must needs passe in those very strait places one after another, not being able to go eyther on the one side or the other, for the ditches, chanelles, and marishes, that make the countreie very troublesome, and ill to traualle.

The Conte who knewe the deliberation of the Duke, that

he might hurt & annoy him before that they were come to gripes, sent a number of footemen and Pioners for to cut vpppe and marre the passages and wayes, to the ende that the water which was pent vpppe, might ouerflowe all the fielde, and ouerwhelme the Dukes armie, so that the auantcurreurs had not rode long, but that they perceyued the footemen and their gard, who laboured to make a waye for the water. This caused the first skirmishe, and the beginning of the iourney. In the ende although the Pioners were forced to retire, yet beyng suskeyned sodainelye by other footemen that were sent vnto them, they droue the *Spaniards* out of the place, who sent vnto their Generall for to demaunde certayne Pykemen and harquebussiers, the whiche yet he refused to doe, and not without good considerations he saue that according vnto the disposition that he had sette in his armie, euerye troupe shoulde suskeine and helpe themselves to their vttermoost, and as long as they coulde for their liues, so that when the foremost were pressed, necessitie woulde sooner stirre by their spirites for to inuent some good meane, and would sooner redouble their courage for to suskeine the impressions and attempts of their enemies, than if they reposed themselves vpon other. He had also fantasied the lyke at another tyme and place, when he thought it not good to fight in grosse with the desperate, nor to put in the hazarde of one only iourney the entier estate of his Prince, seeing the small assurance that he had in fortune, who doth make hir inconstancie to be seene more in deedes of armes, than anye other thing of the worlde. Wherefore a Generall ought not to fight with his whole power, vnlesse he be constrained. Moreover, he had his men in so carefull regarde, namelye after the blowe receyued at the defeate of *Aremberge*, that he esteemed more the lyfe of one of them, than the death of ten enemies. And as one resolved for all euent, in case that he shoulde be forced to come to fight, his mynde was through the losse of some, not only to saue the liues of the rest, but wholly to breake the enemye, assuring him selfe that if the foremost would be sufficient for to ouerthrowe the enemye, that then their felowes that fol-
lowed.

lowed, would make the breach farre greater, but if they being to weake, were broken, then he perswaded himselfe that the enimie would come forth in so yll order, and out of aray for to followe the victorie, that the rest of his power would easily defeat them. On the other side, the Conte *Ludowick* renforced his foremost, and commaunded them to giue in farther, assuring them that he would alwayes be at their heeles, and not suffer them to lacke succours, and in deede they so lustily tasted two or thre of the foremost *spanish* bandes, that the *Paisters* of the Campe aduertised the Duke that they were lost, vnlesse they were speedily succoured. Then he made the horsemen of *Cesar Gonzaga Martinengo*, and certaine other troupes, to set forward with thre hundredeth harquebusiers, which *Dom Felix de Gusman* conducted, who came to the village where the fort of *Y recoüter* was.

But as the time passed, the water ranne in, and in short time covered all the field, to the great disadvantage of the catholikes, namely of the Duke, who was thereby brought into the state to abandon the grosse and greatest part of his armie to the pleasure of fortune, specially when that he sawe himselfe sodainly recharged with another yll hap: which was, that the ayre began to be dark, and troubled with great cloudy raines, which threatened the souldiours a thousand incommodities. The Duke was as much offended and chafed as the souldiours, for that they must stay to fight there in the water vp to the waste, and therewithal if that it should raine, the shot (the principall force of the *spaniards*) would be to no purpose, & moreover, he had no place to retire, but for halfe a leage nor other remedie for to cover & defende himselfe, than to chase the enimie out of their forte. Whereupon he commaunded the *Prior* *Dom Ferdinand* his sonne to make all the *Esquadrons* to march forward, and he himself retired whither he thought good.

The skirmish had begun at 5. a clock, & the *Prior* arrived there about two in the afternone, whose succours did so set on fire the courage of y other, that they giuing vpon all the rest of y *Flemings*, forced them to abandon the fort, with so great mortality, that this victorie may well be accounted equall vnto the other that

that *Lewes* gaue vnto *Aremberge*. For they gained all the artillerie, and a good number of the Ensignes. The Conte *Lodowicke*, and *Antonie de Lalain Conte de Hochstrate*, who had giuen place to the Catholikes two dayes before, retired into *Embsen* a Citie subiect vnto the Earle of *Aldenburg*. After this, the Duke of *Alua* recovered all *Friesland*, & marched euen vnto *Amsterdam* in *Hollande*, where he caused the heades of the Captaynes of *Sard-gones* regiment, to be cut off, for that they had bene the cause of the defeaite of *Arembergus*.

But bicause that *Papelleniere* saimeth ouer bytise in the enarration of them that were slayne, I doe thinke it good to set downe the wordes of schord one of the Iudges of the Emperiall chamber, in his Chronicle, inserted in *Corpus hystoricum Germanie*. The *Spaniardes* (sayth he) followed the chase foure myles, and toke prisoner *Henrie van Sygen*, *Lodowicks* Lieutenant, with twentye ensignes, firtene peces of ordinance, and slewe (some saye) seauenthoulande, but the number must needes be lesse, seeing that the whole armie was scarce so many, of whome yet it is manifest that many escaped. There were slaine many of the banished Nobilitie, whose plate and monye fell vnto *Alua* his share. The Earle of *Schwartzburg* fledde away at the beginning of the fight.

¶ The battell of *Bassac*, fought in *Poitou* in France, betuvene *Henrie* Duke of *Anjou*, brother and Lieutenant Generall of *Charles* the ninth, King of Fraunce, and *Lewes* Prince of *Conde* Generall of the Protestantes, in Anno. 1569.



After the battell fought at *Saint Denys*, the armie of the French Protestantes (as I tolde you before) marched into the confines of *Loreyne*, to meete with *Casimire sonne* vnto the *Pfaltz graue*, with whome they returned backe againe, and besieged the Citie of *Chartres*, when a peace was concluded in March 1568. but it helde but a little while: for in August

August following, the Protestants were againe in the field, with an armie of fourescore and fouretene cornets of horsemen, and two hundred and fortie ensignes of footmen, of whome *de la Cer* brought twentie thousande out of *Prouence* and *Daulhinie*, and eyght hundred horsemen. Against this power being in *Xaintoigne*, a power of Catholikes came, vnder the conduct of *Henric Duke of Anjou* the kings brother, betwene whome were diuers skirmishes, vntill that the colde of the winter forced them both to abandon the field, & which they did take againe as soon as euer the time of the yeare and state of the ayre would permitte. But in *March 1569. Monsieur de Anjou* hauing a little before doubled his forces, had intelligence that the *Lorde Piles* was comming oute of *Gascogne* with a newe supplie of souldiours for the *Conde*, who hadde losse by sicknesse foure or fve thousand of his footmen. Wherefore his Excellence aduancing his armie thowt *Postou, Limosin*, and the countrie of *Augamon*, descended along the riuer of *Charente*, as though he would take *Chasteau-neuf*, there for to passe the riuer, and that done, barre *Piles* from fornyng with the Prince, and be at choyce to fight with eyther of them. The which the Prince doubting, passed the *Charente* at *Cognac*. But *Monsieur* hauing taken *Chasteau-neuf* standing vpon the riuer of *Charente*, betwene *Cognac* and *Angoulesme*, commanded the bridge to be repayed that the Protestantes had broken downe. And the next morning being the xi. of *March*, his Excellence marched towardes *Cognac*, as well to doe some enterpryce vpon the Protestants, and to put them in doubt what he ment to doe, as also for to cause them to thinke that he would not returne againe to *Chasteau-neuf*, to passe the water. The Princes who were at *Cognac* only with their ordinarie traynes (the men of warre being in their quarter) sent one sodenlye to demaunde ayde of the Admirall, who was at *Tornac* with the auantgarde. *Dandelot* hastning thitherwarde, vnderstode that *Monsieur* was turned towardes *Chasteau-neuf* and therefore the Prince being assured, returned to *Tornac* the twelfth of *March*. And in the meane time to impeach the reparation of the Bridges of *Chasteau-neuf*, he caused the Admirall and the auantgarde to aduance them

selues vnto the encounter, whilst that he went to *Iarnac*. But the Admirall seeing the diligence that was vsed in making of the passage, retired himselfe vnto *Bassac*, and for the retrayte ordered *Soubize*, *Puissant*, and other companies of *Poitou*, who shoulde remayne there in battell vntill midnight. As the diligence of *Monsieur* was greate in making of the Bridges, so was it extreme in passing ouer them all the night: on the other side, the Prince (all things being well weyghed) was not willing to resoluē vpon the battell, but commaunded the Admirall that he shoulde cause the auantgarde to dislodge, and be with him at *Iarnac* vpon the breake of the daye. The which was done, but not by all: for the companies that *Puissant* ledde, coulde not marche so speedilye, the which was the occasion that they sawe the companies of the Catholikes at their taple, and were so strongly pressed by them, that they muste needs disgage and succour them to the perill and discomfiture of all the Protestantes: for the Chiefe was charged by so many Catholikes, that he being in the heade of the armie, was in great perill, if that the discouerie of the troupes which the Admirall ledde, had not made them that were aduanced nearest, to staye a little. When the footemen of the Catholikes were no sower passed the Bridges, but that without resting they doubled their pace, for to gayne a little hill that was direaly ouer agaynst the Bridge. The Protestantes also made forwarde verye fast for to sease it, but sodenly when they perceyued the crossed men, whome they there discouered verye easilye, they retired a two or thre harquebuste shottes from thence, for to take a place for the battell, the which they found in a place of indifferent good aduantage, the which was a playne couered in one quarter with a great billage, which did asorde manye commodities vnto their footemen. Neare vnto the sayde billage there was a little hill, and more lower there ranne along before them a river that did deuyde the playne. There they rested them, and all being set in aray of battell, stayed there a good while, whilst that the Captaines Catholikes did take a place, for their armie vpon the playne neare
vnto

unto the hill.

Then they that were lesse lasie remayned not long withoute skirmish, namely those that had the hill in their power: for they hauing discovered howe small a power the Admirall had, who was nowe retired, came downe and aduanced themselues so nere, that the Protestants could not retire without fight, vnlesse they would be intirely defeated. So that when some and then other Catholikes came forward, *Puissant* saw that he and his regiments & Coznet was so gaged, that if the *Lorde Noué*, and the *Lorde Loué* (to whom the retrait of the auantgarde had bene commaunded) had not with fortie harquebusiers of the garde of *de Mier*, deliuered and disgaged them, the greatest part had remained there for a marke and signe of the victorie.

But when they had with al their deuoyze succoured them to their great paine, they were forced to defende themselues with all their power vpon the bay of a pond, where they were all charged with such force by *Martignes*, *Malicorne*, and other, to the number of 6.02. of horse, that *Noué* & *Loué* were taken in the field, and their companies put to flight. *Loué* had this good hap, that by saying he was *la Briche* ensignebearer to *Martignes*, he escaped death, the which he had bene sure of, if he had bene known. Upon this, *Puissant* after he had bene charged, & saw that his company was so small, retired with the rest of the footmen. While that these charges were giuen on *Noué*, other Catholikes passed farther, & gaue in euen to the village, & 11. of them aduanced yet moze lustily, whom the Admirall and *Dandelot* (after they had discovered them, and were ignorant of the defeate aforesaid, because that the village was betwene them) charged *Dandelot* being foremost with his Coznet, gaue in so furiously, that he did put them to flight, and hauing pursued them euen into the village: In his returne he found one of their ensignes, but he was no soner out of the village, but that the Catholikes reentred it moze strongly than befoze: for they were followed but a good way off. by twelue hundred harquebusiers, who came to seaze on the village. Then he turned vpon them, and made them to retire into the village, where they rensforced themselues with

the footemen, who in their fauour did so barre and fortifie themselves in that place vnto the purpose, that it was made impossible afterwarde to chase them thence. In the meane tyme all the troupes Catholikes began to shewe themselves, and euery regiment did take his place for the battell.

This was done when that the Prince of Conde being aduertised by the Admirall (who had sent vnto him the Baron of *Montsaigny*) of the daunger that the auantgarde was in, vntlesse he succoured it, aduanced himselfe with those fewe horsemen of hys battell, that he had assembled tumultuoulye in that bypaze, because that his armie was distributed by quarters, dispersed here and there, by reason they were not then encamped. Then euery man on both sides came to seeke the aduantages of place & fight, and many good blowes were giuen, and many valiant deedes passed, the which I will not set downe particularly. While that these things were done, the Admirall perceiued that the armie of *Monseigneur* was all passed, and came forwarde on the left hande as fast as they coulde, the which was the berye meane for to enclose the Protestantes betwene the riuer and the armie of the Catholikes. When he seeing no meane left for to retire without fight, commaunded *la Tour* to make the companies of the auantgarde to aduance forwarde, the which he did, and bare himselfe so, that his horse being bozne vnto the grounde, he was taken, and being knotone for him that had slayne Captaine *Cherry* at *Paris*, was slayne in the fielde, with many other that had no better market.

Nowe the armie of the Catholikes ranne ouer a great part of the fielde vpon the left hande, where stode the troupes of *Soubize*, *Lagulier*, *Puisant*, *Cressonierre*, and many other Captains in chiefe of *Poitou*, who thinking that they ought not any longer to expect any occasion for a better charge, seeing that the Catholikes reinforced themselves euery moment, with the aduise of the Generall, charged vpon the foremoost with such furie, that they made them to recule: but being broken by the succours that came vnto them without cease, *Soubize* and *Longvallier* were taken, *Aeschere* and *Brandaniere*, and many other were slaine in the fielde.

In the meane time his Excellence woude come another way, for being desirous to break them in many places at once, he caused an other waye on the righte hande to be learned out, whiche although it were harde ynough for the nature of the place, yet neuer thelesse he founde it moze easie on that side, where he made the most part of his armie to marche, by reason that the Protestantes who hitherto maintayned the atuantage of the Baye of the Ponde, after that they knewe his enterpryse, did abandon it, thit they themselves might retire safely. Moreover, at the same instant one regiment of *Reysers* was commaunded to passe ouer the Bay, for to strayne them on the side, the which they did very lustily. When all these troupes were passed for to aduance themselves, the Prince of Conde with three or foure hundred horsemen, turned heade against them, and gaue a verye hote charge, being followed by the most parte of his men. So that he being chased for despite to see almost all his men fledde, and that the whole armie bare it selfe no better, did thrust in with such furie, that he bare to the grounde, and made to recule all those that durst to tarie him, untill such time as his horse being wounded, he was throwne to the grounde, not being able to do the deuoure that he had well desired and wished. For the hindermost troupes of the Catholikes aduancing themselves for to holde vpper the foremoste (who gaue barke) and being ayded by the *Almaine* horsemen, did thruste in so furiously thorough the Protestantes, that two thirdes of them rested vpon the place, eyther deade or sore hurt. Namelye the Prince of Conde, was hym selfe thrown vnder his horse, that he coule doe nothyng anye longer for the blowes that he hadde receyued, so that because he was not followed by his menne, who shoulde haue refreshed hym with a seconde horse, all succour to helpe hym to aryse, failed him, being constrained to giue place vnto the force and the great number of the Catholikes, who came vpon him thicke and threefolde. So that hearing himselfe named and spoken vnto by *de Agence*, and *Saint Iean*. who going to the chase of those that fled, by fortune passed by before him, and then hauing promised him at his request to saue his life, he yelded. But yll fortune

The Battell of Bassac.

freightway followed: for being knowne, he was at the same instant slayne by *Montesquieu* (as some saye) who shot him into the heade with a deadly Pistolet. Certaine had counselled him befoze the fight for to retire, seeing his armie not being loyned together, he could not resist the power of his Excellence. But he would give no moze eare thereunto, than would *Curio*, and the Conte *Lodron* in the like cases.

At the verve same instant of the Princes death, the disorder among the Protestantes, marueylously encreased, whose spurres were not so sharpe as to make their hozes poke fast inough. *D'acier* being aduertised by the Admirall of this rencounter, made sixe thousande harquebussiers to marche with as great diligence and speede as he could possiue: but when he was yet one leage from *Bassac*, (for he came from *Cognac* which is v. great leagues from *Bassac*) he vnderstande of the losse of the battell by those that fledde, which made him to leade his footemen towards *Jarnac*, where yet he could be no soner arrined, but that he sawe the Catholikes at his heeles, yet he made heade vnto them, in suche sort, that he had afterwarde leysure to retire. Then hauing intelligence that the greatest troupe was in *Cognac*, he passed ouer the water with his footemen for to flie that waye, and for to assure himselfe agaynst the pursuite that might be made at his tayle, he caused the bridges to be broken downe, the which did impeache the passage of the pursuing Catholykes. And also hereby the artillerie whiche some had caused to be brought oute of *Cognac*, was also sone assured.

Then *Jarnac* being abandoned, was taken by those that pursued their victorie vpon the footemen. Of so many Protestantes manye would haue rallyed themselves, but they were chased so neare, that they had no leysure. Moreover, to the pursuite arrued a regiment of *Reyffers*, who with the rest of the Catholikes, did verve hotely pursue the fleeing soules one leage from the place of the battell: but they continued their flight euen vnto fife of the clocke in the afternone.

The Admirall and *Dandelot* seeing the flight irreparable,
and

And the affraye somarueplons, retired with a selue of the Populitie : but when they woulde not followe the waye that the greatest part of the afrighted tooke, for feare of being pursued with the other, they deflected into the way on the right hande, and the tract that was least beaten, & retired vnto *S. Iean de Angely*, where they being aduertised that the yong Princes (of *Namur* and *Conde*) were at *Xainctes*, whither they retired (hauing giuen comandement to the rest of the footmen to tarie at *Cognac*) they sought them there, and made that the place for the Reindovous, or abode for them that escaped out of the battell : whither many (who had taken the way to *Cognac*, thinking to finde the Princes there) came vnto them.

Many Protestants of marke (besides the Prince of *Conde*) sawe the ende of their dayes in this iourney of *Bassac*. Among other of the *Poitouins*, these were of greatest name, *Tour*, yong *Chasteliers*, *Portant*, *Chandenier*, *Mesanchere*, *Brandaniere*, & eldest of the *Bessons*, yong *Tabariere*, *Barette*, *la Mesleray*, and aboue fiftie other gentlemen lamented in that countrie. Few of the footemen, and of the Captaines in chiefe none, but *Ogier* called *la Moriniere*, and certaine other of the regiment of *Puivants*, *Soubize*, *Langvillier*, and ten or twelue other *Poitouins* were taken, of whom a little while after *Soubize* deceyuing his keepers, escaped. As touching other *Montigean*, *Breton*, *Stuard* a *Scotte* (who was slayne with a dagge) and certaine other, died there. *Camtel* of the race of *Glas*, was slaine. Captaine *Corneile* a *Scotte*, and diuers other of the same nation coulde not suruiue the fiftenth daye, by reason of their woundes. *Corbeson* brother to *Montgommery*, and Lieutenant to the Prince, was taken prisoner, and after enlarged on his sayth, and being offended for that they woulde not chaunge *Sessac* for him, he returned vnto his house. *Guerchye* Ensigne bearer of the Admirall, being hurt in diuers places, was taken, and being giuen by *Monsieur* vnto one of his kinsmen, had libertie to returne vnto his house vppon his sayth. *Le Nobe* was chaunged for *Sessac* Lieutenant to the Duke of *Guise*. The summe that this iourney did importe, were neare foure hundred of the Confederates, and two hundred Catholikes,

296 The Battell of Moncontour.

of whome there died *Monsieur* the Barons of *Ingrande*, and of *Prunay*, both of the house of *Billy* The Conte de la *Mirande*, de *Morete*, *Moncaure*, *Linieres*, and certaine other of marke: but fewe or none in comparison of the Protestantes, whiche made the Catholikes as well Frenchmen as *spaniards*, to compare this discomfiture unto that which *Charles* the fift, Emperour, gaue unto the *Almaines*, and doe account it for one nothing lesse and inferiour. But certes the fruite was farre lesse: for none other ensued therof, but a fræ running ouer all the *Xantongeon*, *Angoumois*, and *Limousin*. But while that *Monsieur* attempted in bayne *Cognac* and *Angoulesme*, the Protestantes gathered together, and vniued their dispersed power, and creating *Henrie* the yong prince of *Nauarre* or *Bearn* to be their Generall, in Iulie following ioyned with the power of the Duke of *Deux pontz* (who died by the way) which consisted of 7500. *Reyfters*, and 6000. *Lanquenettes* very well armed and appointed.

¶ The Battell of Moncontour, foughte in Poitou in Fraunce, betweene *Henrie* Duke of *Anjou*, and *Henrie* Prince of *Bearne*, the tenth of October, in Anno. 1569.



The Protestantes hauing (as I sayd) receyued the aides of *Deux Pontz*, became verie strong, and did manie greate exploitcs, and at the last the 1. of October ioined in battell with *Monsieur*, who had eght or nine thousand horsemen, sixtene or eyghtene thousande footemen, and sixtene or sirtene peeces of artillerie. But the Confederates had sixe thousande horsemen aswell Frenchmen as *Reyfters*, eyght thousande harquebussiers, and foure thousande *Lanquenets*, of whō some did vnhandsomelye helpe them selues with harquebusses, sixe Canons, two Culuerings, and thre *Puschattes*. But the

The Battell of Moncontour. 297

cause why that the Admirall (who in deede ruled and gouerned the armie, the Prince being scarce a man in yeares) being ouermatched in number, ioyned in battell, was first necessitie (because he coule not commodiously neither go backe nor forward, *Mon-sieur* was so neare vnto him) and secondly, desire of reteyning the auncient honour and reputation of the Protestantes, who were alwayes accounted verie hardie and valiant : but if that they shoulde nowe haue fled, they might perhaps haue alienated from them the heartes of manye of their fauourers, both in seuerne countries, and also at home. The place where this battell was darreyned, was a playne called *iron*, halfe a french leage from *Moncontour*, and two from *Ermaux*. This playne in some parts is charged with little hilles, whom the Captaines might ordeine to great aduantages for the future battell, as the Admirall did : who hauing marked that towarde the place where his Excellence woulde come, the playne ended in certayne little hilles with small and swete discentes, he purposed to place there the greatest part of his footemen, and certayne *Regiments*, because that they (by reason they doe march in the forme of a battallion) are moze subiect vnto the mercede of the Canon, than the frenche horsemen (of whome, because they march and fight in length in the forme of wings, one peece of ordinance can hit but one, and him to verie seldome :) and also for to lodge his ordinance on the small hilles that were at the ende of the plaine, he made the battell to aduaunce moze on the right hand, as if he woulde take towarde *Ermaux*, whereof he gaue the charge vnto *Lodowick Conte de Nassau*, to whome he deliuered thre Canons and one Culuerine.

The auantgarde was on the left hande drawing towarde the river a little lesse forward than the battell, whereof he himselfe did take the charge and conduct, hauing with him *Puygrefier*, *La Noué*, *Telignie*, and certayne other, who had the charge of two Canons, two Longues, two Muschats : And the *Conte de Mansfelde* (the Chiefe of the *Regiments*) of whome he had distributed almost the one halfe into the battell, as also of *Lansquenets*, whom *Granwillers* conducted. All of whome hauing killed the

298 *The Battell of Moncontour.*

grounde, made protestations one vnto another, for to enter-
succour eche one the other, and to dye in the place rather than
to recule and giue backe.

The Admirall hath had one fashion very familiar (if it be not
to be called a strategemme of warre) which is in generall fight
and battell aranged, for to enlase the footemen with the horse-
men, in this sort. After he had chosen the best footemen for *En-*
fans perdus, he would set them in the heade of euery ranke of
horsemen, for to flyte and that too with assurance at the horse-
men that would come to encounter his horsemen: seeing that
euery harquebusier might alwayes according vnto the place,
the time, and the persons, recharge thre or foure times. As
also it is not possible but that the rankes of the horsemen on
the other side must be well lessened, and made thynner, and al-
so that their partie comming vppon the enimie to recharge
them, shall (if they be good men) haue such an hande of them as
they will themselves. Neyther are the footemen that begun
the attache, thereby in any distresse or daunger, for their horse-
men will defende them if anye will recharge them: and in the
meane time they will finde meane to saue themselves if they be
alone on a plaine, or else couer themselves with some baskets
or trenches if the places be proper therfore. Here he practised
againe this forme of fight, but a little altered from the former,
as we shall declare vnto you.

In disposing of his horsemen, he separated the Cornettes as
well French as *Almanes*, intermedling two of *Reisters*, wpyth
two of French, as the hindermoste rankes of the auantgarde
were. Those companies of his owne men of armes, and of *de*
Acier (who conducted his owne in person) were flanked on the
right side with two Cornets of *Reisters*, whiche were a little
more aduanced, and kept still their forme of batallion. On
the left side of those French Cornettes, was Captayne *Ramiers*
with his company of harquebusiers, for to serue for *Enfans per-*
dus, and on their side fixe and twentie or thirtie harquebusiers
on horsebacke of the garde of *D'acier*: all these harquebusiers
stode a little more forwarde than the Cornettes. More higher,
drawing

The Battell of Moncontour. 299

drawing alwayes towards the right hand was the domestickall Colnet of the Admirall, and two or thre other, that he himselve woulde conduct, flanked on the one side with foure or five Colnets *Almanes*, ouer whom *Mansfelde* commaunded, and on the other, with two companies of harquebussiers of *Doge*, and an other captaine. But foure or five companies shoulde fight before the Admirall, who were therefore a little farther aduanced. The rest of the auantgarde still aduancing themselves, a little more forwarde in forme of batallions, euen vnto *Monty* and *la Noué*, who were in the heade or fronte with their regimentes, were followed by the lyke number of *Reisters*. And so likewyse was the battell aranged, the which was in aray standing higher on the right hande, drawing towarde *Ermaux*. Although that all these troupes did one stande more forwarde than another, yet this was not in right lync and in heade, but drawing towarde a directe line, to the ende that the Admirall who stode at the bottome and ende of all his troupes, might see a farre, the disposition, countenance, and dismarche of the Catholikes, and vppon a sodeyne puruey according to the occurrence.

But although that all these troupes were so barred and interlaced, yet neuerthelesse they might go to the charge all together, or a part, as they woulde themselves, without one impeaching of the other, namely seeing the *Reisters*, had requested, that they might not be any whit hindred at their first dismarch. For the *Reister* vsing another and diuers waie and maner of fight from the Frenchman, in incountring his enimie, can not endure any troupe to be neare him: because they will breake his course: for the *Reister* fighteth in this sorte. When he doth see himselfe neare ynough vnto his enimies, the firste ranke doth aduance vpon them, and when he hath shot off his Pistollet, he doth not runne still in forwarde (as both the Frenchman, who doth still pursue his point) but more shorte on the right hande, or on the leftte, according vnto the place where he is, and so is also speedily followed by the seconde ranke, that doth the verye same. When the thirde followeth the se-

conde to giue the charge, as sone as euer he saeth him departed that stode before him. All the rankes following one another in such maner, euen vnto the last, the hindermoste runneth (they fighting with Pistolets onely) for to come vnto their fore ryders, they standing all along one at anothers tayle. And for as much as it is impossible, but that when they doe present themselues, some of them, or else their horses be slaine: therefore as sone as euer one of the foremost ranke is seene to fall downe, he that is in the seconde ranke, directlpe behinde him that is departed, or else disabled, must take his place, and he of the thirde ranke must furnishe the voyde place of the seconde, and so the rest in lyke order, so that they alwayes make their foremoste rankes, of the most assured: for in all things (namely in feates of armes) the beginning is of greatest moment.

You see the reason why the Admirall had thus disposed his men: neyther was this forme and disposition profitable, onely for this regarde, but also was very auantageous for the *Reissers*. For the French horsemen would impeache them that would come against their *Reissers*, from ouerrunning or breaking them, and also would giue them large libertie to recharge, and returne vnto the encounter. And on the other side, when the French men shoulde see that the *Reissers* Catholikes charged their *Reissers*, and namely when they shoulde turne (as also the *Reissers* Protestants would doe) to recharge their Pistolletes, then would they run vpon them lustilpe, and breake them at their ease, I say, that all of them shoulde not haue leysure to recharge. For seeing they haue nothing to fight with but their Pistolets, when they haue discharged. they are halfe deade, and namely when they see their rankes broken. In this battayle, the *Reissers* Catholikes and Protestants entercharged one the other: but if that lot had giuen, that the *Reissers* Catholikes had charged the French men, they might easily haue bene broken. For the Frenchman that still followeth his point, doth easily breake that ranke of the *Reissers*, which he findeth going about to rally and recharge. And though this forme of fight many *Reissers* Catholikes ended their dayes in this iourney, and not onely by this meane, but also by that

The Battell of Moncontour. 301

that which I haue before declared: that is to wit, the Hotte of the harquebusiers on foote, that were intermedled with the horsemen. Such was the disposition and ordinance of the horsemen of the Protestants.

As for the footemen, those that were in the auantgarde, were in masse or plunpe, hauing the forme of one grosse battallion, which the Lanquenets made vnder the charge of the Baron of Grenelesce, and of Granuilliers, flanked on two sides with the regiments of harquebusiers Frenchmen, ledde by Piles, Roussuray, Briquemaut the younger, de Ambres, and du Chellar. Moreover, this battell was susteyned by foure troupes of horsemen, as well Frenchmen as Reisters, ordered as I haue shewed before. The footemen of the battayle made another battallion, composed of the harquebusiers of the regiments of Beaudine, Mombrois, Blacons, Misabel, and Virieu, susteyned as before. And also these two bodies of footemen had their harquebusiers in their front, who (as *Enfans perdus*) shoulde giue and receyue the first blowes, as they were conducted by their Captaines who wente before them. They had not one Pyke among them, a weapon the best and most necessarie that a footeman can deuise to beare; and such an one for a footman, as the Lance is for an horseman, as we will shewe at another time, by Gods helpe.

The Colonels and Captaines of euery bande were a little auanced for to encourage their men: all the armie was clothed in white. The Protestants stode still, not mouing out of their places, and it seemed that they woulde haue bene well contented to haue bene dispenced with for fighting that day, the which thing some men aduised. Yet many presuming that which afterward hapned vnto them, sayde: that a Generall which hath his troupe readie for the shocke, ought not to stay for the charge, and that this had alwaies bene holden for an assured *Maxime* among the old fores of times past. And for prooue more certaine, the Confederates themselues had marked, that in all fightes past, they had done better when they charged first, than when they expected the dismarch of the Catholikes.

Nowe you haue seene the estate and disposition wherein the

armie of the Protestants, expected that of his Excellence, who by the aduise of the most olde practised warriors of his troupe, disposed his armie after the manner that I shall tell you. He being a little aduanced in the playne, and hauing caused certayne of the principall Captaynes to come vnto him, disposed his troupes after the frenche fashiqn, whiche is to deuide the masse of an armie into two parts, which they doe call an auantgarde, and a battell. Diuers times if that the armie be verie great, they make thre, and to these two adioyne a rereuarde, for to susteyne those two foremoste troupes, if they shoulde chaunce to be ouerthrowne, and to succour the bands that shall haue neede: and also for to reallie, as well those that for long fight haue lost or stragled from their Enginies, or for to stape them that flee, and to constrainne them to make heade. The auantgarde was composed of horsemen, as well Frenchmen as *Almaines* and *Italians*. Of Frenchmen were the *Prince Dauphin*, the Duke of *Guise*, *Montignies*, *Chamigny*, *la Valere*, and many other Captaynes: the troupe of whome was no lesse than two or thre thousande horsemen. Of the *Almaines*, the regimentes of the auantgarde of the Conte of *Vestambourg*, the two other regimentes of the *Reingrafte*, & *Bassompierre*, their troupes, amounting neare to two thousande horse. Of the *Italians*, the Conte of *Saint Fiora*, the Conte *Paule Sforza*, the Contes *Disce*, *Sanselle*, and many other with their troupes, who amounted to few lesse than thousande horsemen, almost all very good and well appointed.

The footemen stode in the forme of one grosse battallion, which was made by the regiment of the *Switzers*, ledde by the Colonell *Clery*, which shoulde haue bene of epght thousande, but it was brought to foure, through the long trauaple and wearynesse of the warres. Fiue regimentes of barquebusiers Frenchmen, and *Italians*, for to flanke them on two sides, conducted by the Captaynes *la Barthe*, *Sarlabous*, *les deux Isles*, and he of *Onoux*. And bicause that the playne was faire and large, the artillerie was departed into two, epght pices for the auantgarde, and seauen for the battell, and layde at the heade of the battallions. Before these troupes of horsemen, and the footemen, there was
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The Battell of Moncontour. 303

aduanced (after the Frenche fashion) a good number of young men as well horsemen as footmen, for to scue for *Enfans perdus*, and attach the fight first. Ouer all these commaunded the Duke of Montpensier, who made his auantgarde to keepe this order. The *Switzers* and their flankes of harquebusiers, as men readie to come to the charge, were set vpon the right hand, and before them aduanced *Martignes*, who shoulde charge first, after that the *Enfans perdus* of the horsemen, whom he had before him, had giuen their first charge. *Martignes* was followed by the Prince Dauphin, who being accompanied with *Chauigny*, hadde on his righte hande the Conte de San Fiora, *Marie* and *Paule sforza*, brothers, with *Charles de Birague* followed by their regiments, for the most part *Italians*. Behinde the Prince for to susteyne all that were before, marched the Duke of Montpensier, hauing on his side two thousande *Reisters*, conducted by the *Lantgrau* of *Hessen*, the two Contes *Reingrafse*, brothers, the Conte de *Vestembourg*, de *Bassompierre*, and *Scomberg*, who ledde eyghtene *Coznets*. And bicause that the Duke of Montpensier did doubt that the *Switzers* who were on his right hande, woulde not charge at all, if that they were not flanked and assisted by French horsemen, appointed for their left side the Duke of *Guise*, la *Valette*, and manye other Captaynes, wyth their companies, who shoulde assure them against all hazarde. All this masse went furiously to the charge together, as I will shewe you, after that I haue represented vnto you the battell. The which was composed of the Dukes de *Aumalle*, de *Longville*, *Mareschall de Cossé*, *Taouennes*, the Marques of *Villars*, (who had before receyued in gyfte of the King, the state of the Admirall of *Fraunce*) la *Fayette*, *Mern* Colonell generall of the *Switzers*, de *Toré* his brother (sonnes of the late Constable) *Carnanallet*, la *Fanguian*, and *Villequier*, *Katan*, *Vesigny*, de *Maisy* *Gouernour* of *Montreuil*, *Greau*, and manye other Captaynes, the companies of whome coulde amounte to no fewer than three thousande horse of fight. Of the *Almayns* were the Conte *Monsie de* cousin to the Protestante, who conducted and ledde five *Coznettes* of a thousande, or

twelue

304 *The Battell of Moncontour.*

twelue hundred and forty horse, whome the king of *spaine* had sent, the *Marques of Baden*, who had about one thousande, and certayne other particulars. Likewise the battell had well neare foure thousande *Reisters*. The footemen were in the like maner distributed, as they were in the auantgarde, in one battallion of *Switzers*, whome *Colonell Phisser* ledde, and before him *Mern*, *Colonell* generall of all the *Switzers*, hauing on their wings the *Burgonions* and the *Spaniards* which the Catholike king had sent vnto his *Palestie*, and foure regiments of Frenchmen, conducted by *Cossins*, *yong Monluc*, *Gohas*, and *Rance*, who had seauen great peeces before them. Duer all these commaunded his Excellence, who had a little behinde him on the right side the troupes of the *Marchals* of the fielde for to rally, and moreover to doe their deuoyze in that whiche shoulde be likewise thought needefull. All these battallions had their *Enfans perdus* in their front, as I haue sayde of the auantgarde.

Nowe ye shall see the order that euerye companie hath in the battell for to dismarch, when that the signall of fight shall be giuen. I will take my beginning at the person of his Excellence, for the good lucke that he brought vnto the whole armie. *Monsieur* would be betwene the *Marques of Baden*, and the Regiment of the *Switzers*. And therefore when it was vpon the point of the charge, he commaunded *Duke du Aumalle* to leade the *Reisters* of the *Marques*, who were on the right hande. *Mareschall de Cousse* with his companies, and the *Conte de Mansfelde* with his *Corpsnettes* garded the *Switzers* on the left side. Before his Excellence *Carnauallet* had fiftie Gentlemen for to charge first. Behinde on the right side of his Excellence was *Biron* with his fellowes *Mareschaur* of the fielde and their troupes.

Such was the disposition of one and the other armie, such was the araye and order which euerye companie had for to go to the charge. Nowe it remaines for to declare howe the two armies began to dismarch, to charge, and to encounter one the other. as furiously as any man hath seene: who begetteth, and howe. For it is to be noted, that although the bodies of the two armies were diuided into two partes, that is to wit, into an auantgarde and a battell,

The Battell of Moncontour.

395

battell, according to the French fashion, yet neuerthelesse they had incamped themselves in such a place, and so disposed the companies of euery Captaine, that they might fight all together, & at one time (as it also now happened:) for the auantgarde of his Excellence had no sooner marched, but that the battell whiche *Monsieur* himselfe conducted, began to buskie themselves to go vnto the charge, as I shall tell you hereafter, other wise than the most part of the auncients haue vled to doe, whose battells did moste commonly attende the happy or unhappye successe of the auantgarde. Wherein a man may note the promptitude of the spirites and courages of this time, in respect of the complenesse and slownesse of the auncient ages.

It is to be noted, that his Excellence had encharged *Biron* to make readie the battells, whilest that he being accompanied with the *Dukes de Anmalle, Longvile, Cofse, Taucennes, Villars, Eperette, Carnauallet*, and many other, mounted on an hill, for to be somewhat neare, to iudge of the countenance and deliberation of the Protestants. But because he was counsayled not to go any further, he retired. Then *Tauannes* (on whose iudgement he reposed himselfe for the conduct of his armie) suppliantly desired him to let him alone in going further, that he might be able to giue vnto him moze certaine aduise. He hauing ouerrun with his diligent eye the principall of the armie Protestant, came to finde *Monsieur* and assured him of the good fortune that he shoulde haue, if it woulde please him to giue battell. But if (sayde he) we shall neglect it now, another time the like will not be offered vs, nor an occasion of so great aduantage. Let them marche in the name of God with all diligence, without breaking the order of the battells. The which aduise was receiued of his Excellence, giuing God praise, and with very great chearefulness (as his face seemed to testifie) and the enterprizes that he tooke in hand did witness afterwarde vnto all those that did followe him.

The two armies were not so sone in a readinesse, but that they discovered one the other all in grosse anon after eyght of the clock on Monday morning. Then the Canon of the battell Protestant began to play, shooting so right, that it lost not one shote. Those

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of the Catholikes answered them some inough with a far greater noyse, but with lesse damage: for moste they shotte too lowe, or too high, and also the footemen, and the moste part of the horsemen of the Protestantes, laye so vnder the defence of the playne in the little valleys that were in that quarter, that of these shottes, the Catholikes lost one or two although they alwayes shot thre against once of the Protestants. The artillerie of the auantgarde came also at the same time to salute one another, and interanswere and debate who shoulde vomite most bloude, most slaughters, and most mischiefes, doing equal depoyze vnto the ordinance of the battels.

Whiles that the great thunder made it selfe to be hearde in all quarters, many horsemen disbanded themselues out of their ranks as well of the one partie as the other, some for to skirmishe, other for to see the effect of the Canon, and some for to beue more better and nearely the scite, and the forme of the Campe of their aduersaries: yea, and there were also some that sought out their kinsfolkes and frendes, and talked together as well of the euent of this iourney, as of the occasions that had moued them to followe that part which they maintained: but the best aduised would not departe from their ensignes, both because they would not put themselues in the mercie of the Canon, who taking from him the seate and heade of his horse, would make him lose the good happe to assiste so notable a battell, as also for that they considered, that they had already enough to doe for their parts, and that one ought not to wearie himselfe before the time of fight, and to tire his horse, as *Vegece* mocketh pleasantly some Romaynes of his, who would come vnto the fight quite out of breath. *Tauannes* who had learned the commoditie of all places of the felde, and the wayes of all the quarters, tolde *Monsieur* that it was needefull to make the battels to retire a little on the lesse hande, as well to take the large and aduantageous felde, to the ende to haue greater ease and libertie to fight, and to cut off the way from the Protestantes, if they would retire towards their conquests, as also for to saue the troupes from the furie of the artillerie, the which did mar-

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The Battell of Moncontour. 307

they plously endamage them.

The which gaue occasion vnto the Admirall to chaunge the encamping of al his troupes, and to stand moze on y^e right hand vpon the waye to *Moncontour*, and *Ermaux*, as it were to make a barre for the Catholikes, if that they would thrust in to passe further that waye. Therevpon his Excellence commaunded Duke de Montpensier who ledde the auantgarde for to marche, & the Marechal de Cossé, who stode on the left side of the battallion of the Switzers, to make the battell drawe a little moze on the left hande than it was. The which they executed very readilye, and knele very well to chuse a place for to aduantage their armie. Yet though this commaundement were receyued, they marched not immediatly: for it is to be presumed, that euerye Captaine would then recognise & encourage his men, and open vnto them the occasions and meanes to fight fortunatly. Moreover, euery companye was preached vnto by their Preachers, namely for the regarde of the Protestants, after that the Princes of *Nauarre* and *Condé*, had adhorted them to do their deuoir, to consider the consequence of such a iourney, the soule ignomy or most renoumed reputation that they should get by the cunct of such a battell, wherein lay those things that euery man of the did seeke, that is to wit, their goddes, their honour, their whole state, their liues, & their consciences, which is of farre greater price, & therfore sith by the wel or ill doing in this iourney, their life or death was assured, they in summe prayed them to follow their captains, who would not fayle to lead the a very good way.

Then after that *Tauennes* (whome his Excellence had before sent for, to learne when it was time for to go vnto the charge) had reported vnto him, that it was very good time, and that he must presently giue in, bicause the artillerie of the Protestants maruailously endamaged the Catholikes, & namely that of the battel, which lay within an hundred paces of the battallion of *Monseigneur*, & gaue it a very shrewd check: & again, the artillerie of the Catholikes, by reason of the place (as I haue said) did but a litle harme vnto the Protestants, for the causes before discouered. Wherevpon he told him how y^e day passed away, which might

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cruepe he the obteyning of an entiere victorie : and in beede the armies ad stode at a stay from seuen of the clock in the morning untill thre in the afternone, attending whiche woulde dismarch first. Whilist that the Canon thus played still as well on the one part as the other, his Excellency commaunded the Duke of Montpensier to go resolutely to the charge, & he himselfe would also be the same in his quarter. The which was done as sone as the artillerie of the one and the other side was sodenly retired by the sides, and every compaigne (according to the order aforesayde) did put themselves in pace, and at the same instant the Trumpets of the Protestants hauing sounded *Dedans, dedans, tu, tu*, the armie began to march, seeing the Catholikes now setting forward, so to go on to the encounter.

Upon this, the Duke of Montpensier commaunded Martignies so to charge the runners or *Enfans perdus*, and so to beginne the game, & staying them at the first. The which they did : so being ioynd with the *Italians* & certain French troupes, they marchod as though they woulde haue giuen vpon the *Enfans perdus* of the footemen of the Protestantes, but they no soner saw themselves saluted by two or thre hundred harquebussiers, but that they turned very short on the left hande, and chaunging their trot into a gallop, gaue so feruently vpon *Mouy* and his regiment, that he being abandoned and forsaken by the two Cornets of *Reisters*, that had bene appoynted to followe them, and his regiment being broken, was forced to get him away, and to saue the greatest part of his men among the footemen, who being made mad with so pitteous an accident, and foreiudging a miserable ende of so unhappie a beginning, lost their harts, & disbending themselves by little & litle, in the ende ranne all away for the best game. The *Enfans perdus* were the first, who by so doing helped much to discourage the other, so that they almost altogether forsooke the *Lansquenets*. At the same time, the Duke of Guise, and *la Valerte* being followed by many other companies, aduanced themselves lustily, and came a great trotte to charge their partie, who with the same pace hastied to attache them. At the meeting, many Launces flew into spiners, many horses to the hurting one of the

The Battell of Moncontour. 309

the other, came together, infinite Musketts made manye to fall backward, with their heeles higher than their heades, manye horsemen were bozne to the grounde that neuer spake worde after.

While that these troupes fought with so great pertinacie, the Conte of Saint Enra, *Paule sforza*, and certayne other *Italians*, encountred *Dautricourt*, the Marques of *Renay*, and their companies, who after they had set a byrche the *Italian* troupes, shoulde haue followed *Dautricourt*. For this Gentleman thinking that he had the victorie in his hande, aduanced forwarde so lustily, that casting himselfe into the middes of the auantgarde, he saue himselfe enclosed and assailed by a great number of horsemen, who after they had pressed him to peld, and sawe his pertinacie in fight, flue him in the fiede, & all that had followed him. And passing further, gaue vpon the rest, who being disperfed here and there without Captaine, were not able to abide the impression of the French men of armes, who bowing themselves vpon the incitation of their Launce, and being bozne by strong horses, hurled many vnder their bellies: yet these encounters were not done without sending of many of the one part and the other, for to take the measure of their tombe vpon the duste of that fiede; and namely of the Catholikes, whome the harquebusiers that were on the side of the Protestants, set off at all libertie, assuring themselves, that after they had discharged, the horsemen woulde giue the charge vpon their partes, and in the meane time they shoulde haue leysure inough to prouide for their affaires.

Yet neuerthelesse for all this, the Admirall, who by reason of his great practise in armes, the which the long course of his olde yeeres, and (which is more) the diligent marking of so great and so diuers euent as had runne before his eyes, as he followed the warres as well abroade as at home, coulde welneare certainly iudge what would be the euent of the battell, counselled the Princes to retire as covertly, and with as smal a traine as they coulde: but as in aduersitie men haue their eyes more stirring, and their spirittes more linely to espie, and passe on all sides, the meanes and wayes howe to enfranchise themselves from an yll chaunce

The Battell of Moncontour.

that approacheth them neare, many horsemen followed them, so that they sawe more seruitors at their tayles by one halfe, than the ordinarie trayne of their houses woulde beare, the which helped nothing to encourage them that sawe, or hearde afterwarde of that retrace: the which made them so much the more to suspect that some ill happe was neare, as the thing had bene secret vnto them. I leaue to rake after these *Villaines*, who did abandon their ensignes, for to followe them that commaunded them not, and I will speake only of those that were most chased for to fight. All these fellows being empeached by tickling one another so neare, coulde not see at all the discharges, and the cruell affronts of two thousand *Reifters* Catholikes, and of the companies that assisted the Admirall, as well Frenchmen as *Almaines*.

When these battallions sawe that they were nere to the encounters, the Protestants caused their harquebusiers to auance, crying vnto them that they should not shote but at the horses, but with all assurance. The which although they did, & shot off at fiftie pace, the foremost giuing place vnto those that followed, yet they coulde not shote off so soone, but that the *Reifters* were already come to the charge. The foremost of whome directing their ranges to run vpon the French Protestants, who were on the side of their *Reifters*, were couragiously receiued and ouerrun at the first blowe, as well because the nature of the Frenchman is such, that if he once toyne, he will still go farther, as also for that the harquebusiers had already well clered and thinned the rankes of the *Reifters*, by slaying and hurting many before hand, who were able to giue no farther forward, than the place where they had bene so nearely touched. The *Reifters* Catholikes not marching together, nor charging with one and the same trot, but being distributed by regiments, and sustained by French horsemen, the one companie of them attached the Admirall, who was assisted by the Conte of *Manfeldt*, and the other charged the two companies of men of armes of the Admirall, and *de Alier*, who were followed by two or three Cornets of *Reifters*. These charges were hot and very furious for all men on both sides,

The Battell of Moncontour. 311

sides, and much more cruell on the side of the Catholikes, than on the other, by meanes of the harquebussiers Protestants, who liuely tasted the Catholikes. Some died in the field, other felte themselves so hurt, that they were not able to go any further, neyther had any strength to fight. And bicause of the crye, At the hoxses fellows, at the hoxses: Many of the beastes were so pricked to the quicke, that they coulde neuer serue afterwarde.

When that these footmen had giuen euery man his blow they founde the hoxses of the artillerie who were retired into that quarter neare vnto them, I doe beleue they were not slouthfull to vse them, presaging (it may be) the fearefull and long flight which they were neare vnto. The rest prouided, and made the best shifte for themselves that they coulde. At that charge the Admirall was hurt betwene the nose and the ball of the cheeke, through the fault of those companies that had bene ordeyned for to couer him, and fight before him, who bicause they had taken the charge sooner than they ought, he founde himselfe so intermedled among the Catholikes, that if the Conte de Mansfeld (retaking the charge. and with him foure or fve Cornettes of Reisers) had not repulsed them, the Admirall had neuer got out, but had come vnto the curtesie of them that loued him little. This being done, the one and the other retired a little for to ralpye themselves vnder their ensignes, and afterwarde to returne to the encounter.

This first rencounter was mortall vnto manye Catholikes, through the meanes and occasions aforesayde, so that they seemed to leaue the Confederates almost in the possession of godd fortune. For in dæde some of them then aduancing themselves vpon the Catholikes, cried out, victorie, victorie as though he had slipped out of the handes of his Excellence. But this crye profited the Protestants nothing: for it seemed that the Catholikes had no lesse assured themselves of their forces, than of the good houre that assisted them, as you shall heare. Yet bicause they were seene to be put to flight, it made manye ensignes accompanied with a great number of Catholikes to retire whom the Protestantes rallying themselves vnder their Ensignes, thought

thought to haue charged, if that a freshe regiment that made as though they would charge the Protestantes their *Reisters*, (who had now rallyed themselves) had not caused them to stay.

But because ye haue your eyes so fast fixed on the slaughters of the auantgardes, ye cannot see howe the battell dismarcheth by the commaundement of his Excellence. Whose great felicitie could not suffer so long rest, & although he were vncertaine of the successe of his auantgarde which was nowe come to hande strokes, yet he durst to leaue his tranquillitie, and abandon all his whole state vnto the greatnesse of his fortune, which had alwayes vntill that day, smiled full merrily vpon him. Seeing then that he could not abide to expect vntill the footemen had begun the game, he made a sodaine departure from the right side vnder the conduct of the Duke de *Sumalle*, the Marques of *Baden*, and with all his *Reisters*, the which Marques ranne in so farre before the rest, that he was there slayne, and many other, for companions of his mortall charge. Yet this was a small matter: but *Monsieur* himselfe, whether his nature hote and boyling in martiall prowes, did sollicite him to enter the battell, or whether desire to laye the armie of the Protestantes on the ground, pricked him therevnto: did no sooner see the Confederates buskle themselves to fight, but that he marched full vpon the discouert of the artillerie, the which had not ceased, neither did then cease to play, as well in the Esquadron of *Monsieur*, as of other, and namely in that of the footemen, and his Excellence aduanced himselfe so lustily vpon the Protestantes, that the *switzers* vnder Colonell *Pluffer*, and their Generall *Mein*, with the other battallions, remained a great way behinde him. Nowe seeing that such a *Seigneur* went so feruently to the charge, the encounter maye not bee thought to be other than furious. But (as I haue shewed before) he founde an other order and medley of men of warre than he had thought. First and foremost his Excellence was saluted by foure score or an hundred harquebusiers on horsebacke, that there discovered themselves. Furthermore, when that the horsemen had assured themselves that the harquebusiers had giuen a greate check to his troupe, and that the *Reisters* had also done much more

The Battell of Moncontour.

313

mischiefe, the Frenchmen did cast themselves heade, feete, and handes, as it were desperately into his Esquadron, and breaking in euen to the Cornet, made all them that had followed his Excellence to forsake the place, for all the deuoyze, and all the force that the Duke of Longvile, Tannanes, Carnauallet, Villars, and all those that had followed and accompanied him could make, and all that euer they could doe: in summe, this charge was so terrible, that the most assured ensignes beganne nowe to turne backe againe, as if they would demand succour of Harschall de Cosé, who had not yet departed one foote from the left side of the Switzers, and had auanced them forwarde apace, for to be in time as he himselfe was, for to succour their fellowes. And to say the truth, if he had not bene, the battell had bene then ended. And one may truly note in him, that all his enterprises, because they neuer were none of those hastie and lightly aduanced, were alwayes valiantly and fortunately executed, as things maturely deliberated, are alwayes most sure in execution.

All in time Tannanes ranne to the Switzers, and made them to come a trot to giue the charge, their Colonell Mern marching befoze them. The Harschall de Cosé, the yong Brisac aduancing forwarde, made the Protestants to stape somewhat, who moderated their pace a little, that they might rallye themselves, and charge those that came fresh. In fine the Conte Lodowick with his troupes as well French as Almaines, gaue lustily vpon the Harschall de Cosé, Conte de Mansfelde, Tannanes, and other, that flanked the left side of the Switzers: it was very valiantly fought on the one side and the other, as well with blowes of Launces and Coutelas, as of Pistolettes. The impetuositie and furie of the which Pistolets, doth not permit our laughter in sight to endure so long as it did in ancient time. For then euery man affronting his aduersarie, would not depart out of the place, befoze that the happier man had slaine his ennemie, or made him obedient to his will. But because we doe assure our selues more in the diuelrie of our Pistolets, than in valiant armes, after we haue discharged our Pistolet vpon our ennemie, as we runne we doe passe further, as the horse will, eyther for to recharge, or to

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take the tucke. And it doth most often happen that the cōpanies doe find theselues so disperfed of y^e enimies after the first charge, they must tarie a long time to rallye themselves, expeating the seconde encounter, as it here happened : for after they hadde bene well martyzed with the first impression, they percepued that they were so put out of aray, that they must nēdes retire for to rebnite themselves. But the Protestantes seeing themselves to be so small a number, and the Catholikes to be refreshed and strengthened to the purpose, as well by the companies of the Marechaur of the Campe, as by the *Switzers*, who were ready to glue the charge, lost their anger and hatred to recharge.

In the meane time, his Excellence had the leysure to be refreshed with an horse, through the ayde and meane of the Marques of *Villars* and *Biron*, with the troupes of the Marechalles (ordayned for to rallye the disperfed) wente all againste the *Switzers*, for to encourage them, and to make them marche against the *Lansquenettes*. Neyther was it long, but that the Marechall, the Conte de *Mansfelde*, and his companie being rallied on the other side of the *Switzers*, returned altogether to the charge. When *Biron* with his companies (with whome all that had fledde, and other that had wandered from their *Cornettes*, had ioynd and rallied) encouraged the *Switzers*, and tolde them, that if they would but followe him, he would overthowe the rest of the Protestantes, the greatest parte of whome in dōde retired as fast as they coulde. The rest being ioynd with them of the auantgarde (who for the same occasion (not being able to abyde the shooke of the Duke de *Montpensier*) had gone vnto them of the battell for to rencounter, that they might retire in masse or plump, with as little damage as coulde be) left vnto his Excellence with the felde of the battell, the felicitie and glozie of this entire iourney, being constrained miserablye to abandon the *Lansquenettes* to the crueltie of the *Switzers* their auncient enimies, who entering in, as it were at the breach, whiche the *Stenche* harquebusiers had made in their battallion, slay them all for the moste parte, although

The Battell of Moncontour. 315

although that manye of them with ioyned handes, and knees on the grounde, cried out, *Bon papist, bon papist moy, I am a good Papist, I am a good Papist.* As in deede, no fewe of them were Catholikes, by reason of the little acception that such sorte of people haue, who will first giue them intertainement: yet at the length they being wearye rather of stryking, than of killing, were in the ende constrained to leaue those occasions of fighting and weeping vnto other, who tooke them as it were into their seruice, so to serue them afterwarde as it were their Cufferels. Of foure thousande, two hundredeth or thereaboutes escaped their bloudye handes, and almost seauen hundredeth other, who being lesse armed, and better legged than the foremoste, and hauing the knowledge to pzeage by the beginning of a flete, the comming of so piteous a storme, had fledde oute of the fiede, with the greatest part of the French footmen, who (as I haue sayde) had done the same long time befoze. Peare thze thousande harquebussiers were aranged with these Lansquenets, who had all felt the same furie of the victorious, if it had not bene for certaine French Captaines in chiefe, and Monsieur himselte, who being a right Gentleman in deede, contented himselte with the honoz and the happy end of the notablest victorie that euer was giuen vnto him in Fraunce, and it maye also happen, that euer shall be ascribed him in any other countrie, commaunding them to pardon the Frenchmen. Yet neuerthelesse one thousande or twelue hundredeth dyed there for to enrich the playne of *Cren*, and to serue for an eternall marke of the iourney of *Moncontour*, the which the Protestants lost, aswel through the fault of the hearts of those that fledde, as for the yll disposition and aray of their horsemen.

For the Generall being curioullye carefull to hide the small number of his men, would stretch the forth in length like vnto an hedge, for to giue apparence vnto the Catholikes that they were farre mo than they were in in deede, and by this meanes to haue made the cold to encounter them, that the iourney nere at hande, might be passed ouer in peace, bicause he doubted that he should not therin beare himselte well with advantage, the which

the Catholikes gained, being assured of his state there, bicause they had better disposed their hozles in grosse battallions, who giuing as it were desperately through these hedges of the whyte Callockes, ouerranne them, and put out of the arave the greatestt part of them, notwithstanding all the hayle of the harquebussse shot which they made to rayne thicke and thraefolde vpon them. And otherwise the *Reissers* were not able to abide the impression of the french hozlemen, bicause they fought seperated, contrarie vnto their natural and ordinarie fashion, so that they were in the ende broken by the Catholikes. The forme of fight in the manner of an hedge, is good for frenchman against frenchman, but moze proper to one that beareth Launce, than vnto a Pistoller, who we see doe all charge together, and the hindernmost do not couer nor hinder the foremost: and as this disposition was of no force that daye, so let him not vse it any moze hereafter. In summe, they lost very fewe of the hozlemen, both for the grace and fauour that their spurres gayned those that fledde at the very first (for to marke I beleue their lodgings at *Partenaye*, and then at *Rochel*, and *Angoulesme*, and farther to, if they had durst to haue gone) and also for the fewe charges that they made that remayned and stode to it. Who being vntied quicklye after the first and seconde charges, retired, the which of truth was moze honourable than the fight passed, as I shall shewe you in another place. True it is, that the Catholikes reallyng themselves, made them to remember the iourney or battell of *Spurres*. But when one hath done his deuoir, the retraite in cases desperate, both carie no dishonour.

Such was the ende of the battell, wherein frenchmen, *Almaines*, *Burgonions*, *Italians*, *Switzers*, *Flemmings*, and *Languecnetts* tried sufficiently the prowesse and dexteritie of themselves and other, with leysure inough. *Henric hampernou* with his Coynet of Englishmen was comining thitherwarde, but being arriued at *Niort*, when the battell was fought, and hauing scene the yll happe of this iourney by the long trayne of the fliers, incorporated himselfe with the masse of the escaped. The fight endured not aboue two houres.

The Battell of Moncontour.

317

Duke de Anmalle, and Biron, with the Mareſchalles of the Campe, Torré, and many other, purſued the chace, and Monſieur followed after them with the reſt of the armie, being herin wiſely and well counſelled. For the Generall neuer ought to trouble his perſon (in whome the good or yll happe of the whole armie doth ſeeme to be reposed) with the purſuite of them that flee: for as muche as the perill that maye happen, is common vnto him with the meanest ſouldiour of his troups. The purſuit was not long, becauſe that the Proteſtants being all ioyned together (as I haue tolde you, and notably ſuſtained by eight or nine Cornets of *Almanes*, with the Conte Lodowicke and Mansfelde (to whome it is naturall to keepe better order, whether it be in marche, or in fight, than any other nation that is) durst ſtaye for the hottest of the purſuers: ſo that afterward they went but a marching pace, for when the Catholikes thought to annoy them, ſodenlye this maſſe woulde turne heade, and then they durst not to runne vpon them. In this ſort they marched euen to *Erwanx*, (the Catholikes beginning to retire) and from thence to *Partenay*, where they arriued about ten of the clocke in the night, ſine houres after the diſcomſiture, and ſodenly helde counsell with the Princes. About thre or ſoure hundredeth hoſemen of the auantgard (without accounting their ſeruants) paſſing forthright moze neare to *Moncontour*, had alſo taken the way to *Partenay*, where at one time they rencountred one another. The taking of this village ſerued them to great purpoſe. Captaine *Allarde* had receyued charge from Monſieur, to go with as much ſpede as he could poſſible the Monday after he had dined, for to take *Partenay*, and to put two or thre enſignes in it, as he that had alwayes bene Captaine thereof before: but the Admirall had at the ſame time diſpatched thitherwarde *Aubouiniere*, of *Chaille* in *Poitou*, for to take it: the which he did with ſuch diligence, that he arriued a little before *Allarde*.

The Princes and Proteſtantes loſt in this battell thre thouſande Lanſquenets, and ſiftene hundredeth Frenchmen, the number of the deade that were ſounde, ſeemed farre greater: but the greateſt part were Cuſſerelles or ſeruants: all were buried by

the commaundement of his Excellence, and also all the villages, farmes, and hamlets thereabouts, were inioyned to burie those that were neare vnto them. Of the horsemen neare three hundred were slaine, and no fewer horses were deade or hurt: for the *Reisters* for the most part did chiefly shote at the horses, knowing that if the horse laye on the ground, or otherwise were not able to doe his deuoyre, the horseman wold come to reason. Of men of name there was not any slaine, but *Taney de Boucher, Escayer de Puygreffier*, which some do call *Saint Eire in Poitou*, one of the most auncient and resolute men of warre in Fraunce, who in fighting valiantly, was bozne to the grounde, and slayne in the fielde, as were *Dautricourt, Biran*, the brother of the Catholike, and *Saint Bonet*, Ensigne bearer of the Admirals company. *La Noue* was taken prisoner, as also was *de Acier*, after that he had lustily ouerthrowne the *Reisters* that charged him. The Admirall was hurt with a Pistolet betwene the nose and the left ball of his cheeke, and his horse hurt. Many other, namelpe *Reisters* were wounded, who were afterwarde almost all saued at *Rochell*. All the artillerie was gotten, and their furniture. All the baggage of the *Reisters* was spoyled, except their horses, whome their seruants saued. The baggage of the French men was saued, bicause it had bene aduanced vpon the way to *Partenay* and *Niort*.

Of the Catholikes, fewe of the footemen were slayne, and about five or sixe hundred horsemen, namelpe *Reisters*, and twise as many hurt: the most part of whom died afterwarde of their woundes. The Conte *Reingraffe* the elder, the Marques of *Baden*, *Cleremont* of *Dauphine*, the olde *Reingraffe* slayne. The yong *Reingraffe*, the Carles of *Isue* and *Santelle*, Italians, the Duke of *Guise*, *Schomberg*, *Bassompierre*, *de Mailly*, hurt and saued.

Thucydides who is reputed to be the truest wyter of the ancientes, speaking of the discomfiture of the *Ambracians* and their allies by the *Athenians*, doth not tell the number of the deade, bicause it seemed excessive vnto all other, but himselfe, who did not thinke that they exceeded a thousande men, fearing that he shoulde be named a lyer. In the lyke cause am I, who will

The Battell of Moncontour. 319

Will not tell howe many Protestantes were slayne, for feare of being controlled. Alwayes when I doe take my penne in hande, I blushe to see howe that some Catholikes, who doe say that they were at the battell, and greatlye busied in kylling, will finde it straunge : considering (will other saye) the re-
 poyte that was made vnto the King, to all the Potentates of Christendome, and to his Excellence himselfe. Lette them weygh that there came but sixe thousande Lansquenettes to the Protestantes. They will graunt me this, that the long and paynfull voyage whiche they made, the troublesome ex-
 cursions, the importunate charges, and other annoyances that the Duke de *Aumalle* brought vnto them, did take a moi-
 tie of a thirde of them oute of the worlde, adde therevnto, that the rolles of Straungers are neuer full. Will they denye me, that after they were ioyned with the Princes, dyed as manye
 moe at *Saint Trier*, and afterwarde at *Lusignen*, and the long siege of *Poitiers*, where all the Frenchmenne endured so manye cala-
 mities : And what of the rencounter of *Saint Cler*, where the Canon playde at pleasure throughe those poore bodies that laye groweling byting the dust : Moreover, this is verye
 certayne, that almost thre hundred were caried backe by the Catholikes to *Moncontour*, and it is most true, that thre hun-
 dred were afterwarde slayne in *Bruage* and the *Iles* of *San-
 songne* (as I shall tell you) besides them that wandered from the
 Ensignes, and serued after the battel, or were slaine by the pa-
 santes. The rest of the whole number will scarce amount to the
 thre hundred of paye, who vnder the charge of *Hector Reilen*
 were conducted home into their countrie by the Catholikes at
 the Kings commaundement, after that peace was made and
 published. Wecken these numbers, and (it maye be) you shall
 finde that there were not so manye slayne as I doe saye. Of the
 Frenchmenne, that two partes were saved by so shamefull a
 flight, you ought not to doubt : ioyne therevnto the curtesie
 that *Monseigneur* commanded to be vsed vnto the rest of the French
 men. To haue fledde, and to be slaine in fight, be two incompati-
 ble thinges, and then consider the retrayte of the *Reisters*
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The Battell of Moncontour.

Protestants, of whome there died about an hundred and fiftie: If you doe not now beleue me, I will say, that in your speache you deuise as Clerkes of armes, or else doe it of passion. For I will say farther (the which will moze disease you to digest) that the Catholikes had at *Moncontour*, a losse of moze importance than the Protestantes, who lost none but their footemen.

Monsieur pursuing the Protestantes with speedie pace, rested not before that the night tooke him, which was at *Saint Generon* vpon *la Toné*, and after he was lighted off from his horse, he gaue thanks to God, for that he had vouchsafed to bestowe vpon him so goodly, happy, and notable victorie, to the profite and contentment of the king his brother. After this victorie, *Monsieur* recovered all *Posson*, when that the Protestantes had dispersed their armie to be refreshed in *Xantogne*, *Quercye*, and *Gascogne*. But the next Summer they were in the fieelde againe, and forced the king to make peace with them in August following, being in the yere 1570. graunting them pardon, and also libertie of their consciences.

¶ The Battell of *Lepanto*, fought by sea vpon the coast of Greece, betweene the nauy of the Christian league, vnder the conduct of *Don Iohn de Austria*, and the Turkish fleete, gouerned by *Haly Bassa*, in Anno. 1572. Out of *Peter de Bizarri*.



When that *Selym* the seconde, the Turke, grievously molested the Ilandes of *Cyprus* and *Candie*, *Philip* the king of *Spaine*, the seignorie of *Venice*, and *Pius* the fift Bishoppe of *Rome*, entred into a strong league against him, and in the yere 1572. did set forth a mightie fleete in that quarrell, ayded herem by the Dukes of *France*, *Sauoy*, and other Princes, and the knightes of *Malta*, and the Citie *Genoa*. This fleete consisted of two hundredeth and eyngh galleys

The Battell of Lepanto.

321

galleyes, sixe galeazes, five and twentie shippes, fortie bargeantines and frigates, and five and twentie thousand souldiers, *Italians, Spaniards, and Almanes*, besides two thousand gentlemen that served for pence and honor, without wages. This mightie name (the high Admirall wherof was *Don Iohn de Austria*, base sonne of the Emperour Charles the first, yet so that *Mark Antonie de Colonne*, and *Sebastian Venerio*, the Admiralls of the *Papies* and *Venetian* navies, shoulde be alwayes called into counsell, and that done which shoulde seeme good vnto the greater part of them) launched out of the haven of *Messina* in seavle in August, to the uttermost of their power to endomage the Turke. The seventh of October, they being before the *Isles Cuzolari*, in the Archipelago, had intelligence that the Turkeish name of 333. galleyes, and such like vessels, was in the gulfe of *Lepanto*, and hastened directly vnto our nauie, and were not farre off. When that this was hearde and knotone to be true, *Don Iohn* unpelled thorothe surpassing valiance both of his owne heart, and also of his fellows and allies, and specially through the intreatie and persuation of *Augustine Barbado*, the Viceadmirall or Promotor of the *Venetian* fleet, incontunently commaunded that flagge to be hanged forth which was the signal of battel, and that the fleet might come together, he commaunded one of the greatest gunnes to be shot off. Then he went aboarde a long boate, taking with him *Lewes of Cardona*, and *Soto* his secretarie, and glistering all in bright armour, went about all the whole fleet with most ioyful countenance, and passing stoutnesse of courage, and gaue charge that euery man shoulde followe their ensignes, and keepe their araye, and then adhorted and desired the Captaines and souldiours, that they woulde fight valiantly and stoutly, and thinke that they caried that daye the riches, honor, glorie, libertie, faith, and religion of their countries in their valiant handes. Wherefore they shoulde be ready, and fully bent to invade the Turkes, as sone as the signall shoulde be giuen, and that if they vanquished this daye, woulde bring perpetuall felicitie vnto them and theirs: but contrariwise if they shoulde be haue them dishonorably and shamefully, and be vanquished, that then it woulde be a

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The Battell of Lepanto.

beginning of euerlasting shame, and of all calamities. Wyth these and such like wordes, the heartes of all men (although they were before of themselves fiercely inough incited) were more and more inflamed, and now euerie man burnt in immeasurable desire of fight. It can scarce be tolde for howe fortunate and happye an abodement it was taken, that euerie man as soone as they sawe him, beganne to applaude, and also to crie out victorie, victorie, and these wordes did they oftentimes ener and anon repeate. Those things being spediely done, he returned againe into the Admirall galley alinost at suche time as the two flectes were within an arrowes shot one of another. But because that disurle of the galleyes seemed to be somewhat slacke to take their place, *Lewes Rechezenes* streight waye went out of the Admirall, and being rowed in a boate, gaue it in charge vnto euerie galley, & then returned agayne vnto the Prince. The middle battell wherein were threescore and thre galleyes, did the thre high Admiralles guide, and *Dom Iohn* kept in the middes: on whose right side went the Popes Admirall galley, in whome was *Marke Antonie de Colonna*, the high Admirall, and *Pompey de Colonna*, *Romagasso*, and *Michael* the Popes Nephewe, with manye other noblemen. But on his leste was *Venerus* the Venetian Admirall, whome manye valiant and noble men accompanied, and a small distance from hir followed the Admiralles of *Charino Maripetri*, and *Iohn Lucretio*, behynde them the Admirall of the Genouise, in the which the Prince of Parma was, and the Admirall of the Duke of Savoy, the Captayne whereof was *Ligny*, a manne renouned both for birth and martiall knowledge, and in hir was also the Prince of Urbine, and the wings of the myddle battell were backed on one side with the Admirall of the Knightes of Malta, whose Captayne was *Peter Iustimiano*, a forwarde and valiant man, and on the other wyth *Lumelines* Admirall, in whome was *Paule Iordano*, a Gentleman of approved prowes. Whylest that *Dom Iohn* doth chearefullie and diligently execute all things which doe appertayne vnto his charge, and doth omit nothing that doth belong vnto a valiant

The Battell of Lepanto.

323

ant and noble Prince : the rest of his fellowes , and the Captaynes of the galleyes did also by their owne authoritie commaunde their souldiours to repayze vnto the ensignes, and that no man should depart out of his place, & that euery man should put himselfe in a readinesse for to fight. Moreover, euery one of them adbopted their souldiours, and did to their vttermoste declare vnto them all things that might inflame their heartes, and nothing was pretermitted by them, which did appertayne vnto the dueties of good Captaines. In the meane time, euerye man made his most heartie and suppliant prayers vnto God for the good successe of the fight, and then toke a shorte breakfast, and also the Mariners and rowers being refreshed with meate and drinke, and anon all of them, & euery one of them with prompt and valiant hearts made ready themselves for to fight. Two of the galeazes went befoze the middle battell. *John Andrew Doria* Admirall of the *Genouese* flecte had the leading of the right wing, wherein were thre score and foure galleyes, and also two of the galeazes went befoze him. *Augustine Barbadias* was Captayne of the left wing, with fiftie thre galleyes, and likewise two of the Galeazes went befoze him. But *Andrew Baciato* Marques of *Sancrace*, and Admirall of the *Neapolitan* flecte, who had the leading of the rerewarde, or the battell of succour, stode with his galleyes, who were in number thirtie eyght, halfe a myle from the battelles. But that our men might fight with happy euent, it was wrought through the helpe and singular prouidence of God, who made the winde which at the begynning did greatlye sauour the enimies their naute, by little and little to fall, and anon there followed suche a calme, that the *Turke* the vessels coulde scarce be stirred out of their place, in so much that their shippes were rowed forth, and in the meane time more lepsure and aduantage was giuen vnto our men to sette their araye. The Admirall of the *Turke* flecte (*Haly Bassa*) had befoze this tyme sente one *Caracosse* with a Brigantine to take a belwe of our naute, the whiche he reported vnto the Admirall to be farre lesse than it was in deede, eyther bicause he coulde not well see the galleyes of the lesse

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wing, by reason of his speedy posting, or else, which is more likely, for the Islande that was behinde them. But two other that were sent after *Caracosse*, hauing viewed our fleet more diligently, and curiously marked the kings flagges, returned speedily, and tolde that our nauie was very strong, and very excellently well appointed and prepared to fight, with their ensignes aduanced. But as soone as he hearde this, he greatly maruelled, as he that had before fully perswaded himselfe, and also the same had bene tolde him by *Caracosse*, that our nauie was farre lesse than it was in deede, and therefore woulde our men go backe againe as soone as euer they sawe them comming, and seeke their safetie by shamefull flight, or else if that they were so foolishly hardye as to fight, they woulde receiue a notable ouerthrow. He is also reported to haue enquired whether that those vessels which were placed in the front, were *Venetian* or *Spanishe*, and when he was answered, that the one was intermixed with the other, he was very pensieue, and had thought at the first that it scarce could haue bene by any meanes possible. At the first he had thought to haue wintered eyther in the gulfes of *Catara*, *Corfu*, or *Cephalenia*, but after that he had lerned for a certaintie that our men had rigged forth a mightie nauie, he returned incōtinently into *Greece*, where he commaunded newe bandes of souldiours to be pressed forth, and they being speedily embarked in his nauie, the whiche was also againe newe furnished with victualles and other necessary things, he directed his course with the rest of the *Ianizars* and other ordinarie souldiers that he had before leued, towards *Cuz-Zogori*, which was almost midde way betwene *Lepanto* and *Parras*, with intent to fight with our fleet, and in that minde was he the more confirmed, for that he had vnderstode by *Caracosses* wordes, that his nauie was farre the greater. Wherefore at the first the *Turkes* began to reioyce, and promised themselves assured victorie, and so great a desire to fight had inflamed all of the, that euery man coueted to go before his fellowes, although it were commaunded vnder paine of death that no man should go before the Admirall galley. They were like vnto a mightie thick wode, and coulde scarce be restrayned from fight, and when they

The Battell of Lepanto.

325

they sawe our men come forwarde to fight verve valiantly and courageously, and every galley to foillowe the ensignes according to the discipline of warre, and in a very goodly order, with the noses of their galleys directed against the enimies, they also incessantly began to set their naue with greate arte and celeritie, and they had so much the more conceiued the victorie in hope, because the winde did at the beginning blowe very commodiouslye for them, as we haue sayde before. But for that the beames of the sunne which shined that day very bright, were full in their eyes, they coulde not so aptly and commodiously order and sette their vessels in aray. *Partay* the Generall of the souldiours, and *Haly* the Admirall of the flate, whiche two did leade the muddle battell, had appointed *Mahomet Bey* to be Captaine of the righte wing, with fifty galleys, and with him were *Sirocke* the President of *Alexandria*, *Caurlate*, *Asiscan*, *Dragan*, *Agadel*, *Bassa*, *Vstregasa*, and many other men of great marke. But *Orchialy* had charge of the left wing, with almost fourescore and ten vessels, and there accompanied him *Caraiolo*, and *Arabe* his sonnes, and many expert souldiours, and also many of the Pirates: and they went directly against *Doria*: their wing seemed to be much stronger than his, and also the galleys to be farre mo in number, because that *Doria* his galleys that were on the left hande not farre from the mayne lande, coulde not at the first be seene. But the principall Chiefetaines themselves (who were as ye haue hearde, *Haly* and *Partay*) were garbed on both sides with almost as many galleys. And of those noble meime that accompanied them, these were part, *Agan* the maister of the *Arsenall*, *Mustapha Celibi* the Treasurer, *Treymontana*, *Amath Bey*, with his brother, and *Haly* his sonne, *Amath Aga*, the Captaine of *Teuthrama*, *Asu Caiga*, the gouernour of *Galipoli*, *Caracosse*, *Cambey* the sonne of *Barbarossa*, *Milamur*, the Captaine of *Mitilene*, *Deli Solymen*, *Gider* the Captaine of *Scio*, *Cassembe* the Lieutenant of the *Rhodes*, *Prouy Aga* the Captaine of *Napoli*, *Giapar Cilibi* President of *Calaba*, *Dordagnan*, *Dondomeney*, *Beribeuole*, *Osman*, *Reul*, *Agada*, *Cisfer*, *Dram Ran*, and many other of marke, both for their riches and authoritie, and also for their prowes in warrefare. Thus when they sawe

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The Battell of Lepanto.

our men (the which in deede happen vnto them otherwise than they had expected) readye and couragious to fight, they incontinently aranged their galleges for the battell, being cast into the forme of a Croissant or halfe Moone, as they haue of long time accustomed. The Admirall of the *Turkes* verpe seuerelye commaunded all men, and euery man in the name of *Selim* for to fight without feare, and valiantly against their enemies their nauie. If that anye man did forsake the battell, eyther for slouth, feare, or anye other cause, he and his vessell, and all that were with him shoulde be incontinently consumed with fire. In the meane time he commaunded (as our men did) that euerye man shoulde repayre incontinently vnto his ranke and order, and keepe it, ordeining a grieuous payne for all them that shuld doe otherwise. Moreover, he assembling his men together, adhorted them to be myndefull of their wonted prowes, through the which they had so often hitherto put to flight this same enemye, and reduced into their memorie all the noble actes that they had done in former yeares agaynst *Charles* the fift, and his sonne *Philip* during the reygne of *Solyman*. Moreover, he briefelye repeated all that they had at sundrye times done agaynst the *Venetians*, and what they had of late gotten by warres and armes, that is to wit: howe they had augmented the *Turkish* dominions with the kingdome of *Cyprus*. Wherefore they ought to remember, that they were also nowe to fight wpyth those men whome they had so often discomfited, and that they shoulde make a waye and entrie, not onely into *Italie*, but also shortlye vnto the possession of all *Europe*, and therefore they shoulde fight valiantly, & assuredly trust that God and *Mahomet*, through whose helpe their auncestours had subdued so manye kingdomes and prouinces, and had broughte backe from the vanquished enemye, so manye renowned victories, woulde also be with, and assiste them in this battell. These things and manye suche lyke did he set before his souldiours, with an oration no lesse graue than eloquent, that thereby his souldiours (although he sawe them of their owne accorde to be sharply inkindled to fight) might yet be through these adhortations

The Battell of Lepanto.

327

tions the more and more accensed. Nowe was all the daye almoste spent, when that the nauies on both sides were made readie to fight. The enimies flecte was sette in almoste the same araye that oures was. For the middle battell came against our middle battell, and their wings against ours. Our fire greate galleyes or Galcazes (as I haue tolde you) wente befoze, of whome two stode befoze eyther wyng, as a moste sure Bulwarke, and the rest wente befoze the myddle battell. These greate Galleyes charging the leaders of the *Turkische* battelles against them, did beate the ennemie on all sides with their ordinaunce, and committed horrible slaughter. But althoughe the *Turkes* had receyued manye greate losses by them, and sawe that their orders and rankes were scattered, yet they being passed by them, did wyth a certayne marueylous pertinacie and stoutenesse of heart, gette them incontynently vnto the Ensignes. So anon the two flectes ioyned together in battell, and the highe Admirall galleyes of bothe flectes vsing the surpassing chearefulnesse of the Mariners and Rowers, ranne togither with so greate force and violence, that their beakes on bothe sides were crycken off. They foughte valiantlye and variablye for the space of an whole houre, the victorie enclyning vnto neither parte, fortune giuing ioyfull hope of prosperous euente, nowe vnto oure men, and then vnto the aduersaries. And nowe they began to fight no longer with Arrowes, Dartes, and Gunnes, but encountered close togither with their Swordes. But when our menne had twyce boarded the *Turkische* Admirall, and had gotten vnto the Mast, and seemed to be maisters of hir, they were twyce repulsd thence (and not withoute a notable losse) by newe succoure that ranne thither. Whyle that these thynges are in doing, *Bernardine de Cardona*, seeing that *Lewes de Figueroa* the Captayne of the Stemme of the highe Admirall, had manye of his menne wounded and slayne, came speedilye to relieue and succoure him, wyth *Michael de Mancada*, to whome also that charge had bene enioyned. But whylest that *Bernardine* foughte
valiant.

valiantlye at the stemme with his sword and target, he being shot in with three pellets, fell downe and dyed the next morning. And in that place were also *Peter Zaputha, Lewes de Ferez, Pliege* the father, *Fe derick de Benauides, Gusman, Philip de Rhodes, Ruide de Mendoza, Iohn de Soto, and Lewes de Rochenes*, who was sometime at the standard, and sometimes with *Dom Iohn*, and all these noble gentlemen fought against the enimie with great and incredible valor. At length our men still vynging with sharpe sight, and hauing gotten a fauourable aspect of victorie, did after an houre and an halfe fight discomfite the middle battell, and boarded and toke the Admirall galley, in whome were about fife hundred of the noblemen slayne, and mo taken and wounded: the Admirall himselfe while that he encourageth his men, he erecteth those that doe faynt and be fearefull, he confirmeth the couragious, he extolleth to the heauens those that fight valiantly, and promisseth them great rewardes: finally (whilest that he executeth no lesse the charge of an excellent Chiefetaine, than of a stout souldiour, is slayne with a small shot that hit him in the heade, the whiche being streightway cut off from his necke, was brought by a *spaniard* vnto *Dom Iohn*, who as soone as he saw it, comanded it to be set on y^e poynt of a speare for a space, & held it aloft with his own hande as it were a trophie, and to strike terroz into the heartes of the rest of his enimies, who fought yet very valiantly, & anon were all the *Turkysh* flagges pulled downe, and one of the crosse hanged out in their place. But although that a principall galley of the enimies sodenly inuaded the Admirall, when that she had almost vanquished hir enimies, yet she had the same euent that the rest had. While that the high Admirals doe most fiercely encounter eche other, *Partaw* and *Colonna* encountred together, and euery one of *Colonna* his galleys with the *Turkische*, some with two, and some with three, as *Colonna* himselfe, and the Admirall of the *Venetians* had done: & equall almost was the prowes of the souldiours on both sides. At the beginning of the encounter, many were slayne, but most on the enimies part, by reason that our men had in euery galley three hundred skilfull & verve well practised *barquebufiers*, and on the other side the enimie had verve fewe,

The Battell of Lepanto.

329

although in steade of them there were innumerable archers, and among them some on horsebacke, who deadly wounded manie of our menne. But in the meane time the Galleye slaues also brought no small helpe to the obteyning of the victorie, by hurling of Dartes and stones vpon the enimie. While that the chief Captaynes of the flætes encounter one the other with so bloody and cruell fight, all vessels of both nauiies doe also in all partes furiously fight one against the other, and *Doria*, and *Occhiali* runne together. But here was the fight most troublesome and hardest, bicause that *Doria* had ioined with so suttile an enimie, and an old beaten Captaine, and one whome he saue did recule backe, that he might chosse that which he iudged woulde be most for his aduantage. This was a great impediment, that his counsels and intents coulde not be knowne, nor all the galleyes brought forth at the first. But when they at length, though late, came vnto fight: *Doria* fought valiantly, and had with him *Ottavian Ganza-ga*, *Vincens Vitelli*, and certaine noble men of *Spaine*, who wyth the rest bestirred themselues not lasly. Whilest that this furious fight continueth, *Lewes de Rechezenes* dealt with *Don Iohn*, to goe out of hande for to succour the right wing, bicause he had seene and marked that manie of the enimies galleyes that hadde not yet begun to fight, made thither, and also that sundrie of *Doria* his galleyes were somewhat farre off. When the Admirall was come, there was a fierce and bloody fight committed. There were with *Don Iohn*, *Iohn Valques*, *Coranade*, *Andrada*, and *Franciu Doria*, who fought all verie valiantly, and although that at the beginning fewe of the galleyes followed the Admirall, yet they which had bene appointed to garde hir sides, did neuer forsake hir. But the Admirall of the *spanishe* flæte chauncing to see a galley, wherein were the sonnes of the *Turkishe* Admirall (whome they thinking to be aliue and well, diligently and carefully sought for here and there) made in vnto hir, and they fought together with passing prowes, for in the *Turkishe* galley were a great number of valiant men: and in the *spanishe* were, the son of the Constable of *Castile*, *Iohn Velasco*, *Alexander de Tordesillas*, and many other knights of *Aragon*. At that time also *Peter Iustinian*

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The Battell of Lepanto.

the Admirall of the fleet of the knightes of *Malta*, a man of
 verie stout courage and greate valor, being assailed by thre
 galleyes, fought so valiantly, that he boarded two of them,
 and hadde also almoste boarded the thirde, when that other
 thre *Turkysh* galleyes seeing the flagge of *Saint Iohn*, did speed-
 ly invade him on all sides, and they being toynd with the
 other thre, slue almost all his men, among whome were fiftie
 knightes of the religion, who had with marvellous prowes
 long tyme susteyned the violent assault of their enemies. Inso-
 much that all men thought she had bene quite losse: when be-
 holde vpon a sodayne, and not without the instint of God) two
 galleyes of his fellowes (that had fought so valiantly with o-
 ther thre of the ennimies, that they had taken almoste all of
 them) seeing *Iustinian* his galley in greate distresse and daun-
 ger, speedilye hasted to helpe hir, whome they deliuered out of
 all daunger, and founde the Admirall yet aliue (although he
 were shotte in with thre arrowes) and still fighting with vn-
 appalled heart, at the decke, with those fewe souldiours that
 were left aliue, being cast into a ring. In the meane time
Occhiali very hardlye pressed *Doria* his side on all partes with his
 galleyes, and had nowe taken ten of our galleyes. While that
 they thus encounter with doubtfull victorie, the araye was
 broken in the aduerse parte, and certayne small vessels fledde
 out of the battell, whome yet our men did not chase, so that
 it seemed to be no matter of anye greate importaunce, but
 bent their strength directlye towardes that parte which was
 moste oppressed by the enemye. When *Occhiali* percepued this,
 he leauing the galleyes whiche he had a little before taken,
 incontinentlye made towardes the middle battell: but when
 he sawe that the middle battell was discomfited, and that *Don*
Iohn was come thither with his galley to helpe *Doria*, he in-
 continentlye beganne to thinke of flight. But our menne
 to interlude him, diide take before hande a certayne place
 throughe the whiche they had thought he must needs haue
 passed: but he to escape the daunger, directed his course close
 vnto the shoze, and there landed all the menne that were in
 his

The Battell of Lepanto.

331

his galleyes, and thus the greatest parte of them were saved by swimming. But if it hadde not chaunced that the greater parte of our Galley slaues (from whome their setters were that daye taken, and libertie promised them, if that they did their dutties lustilye and faithfullye) hadde not tarried in those galleyes of the enimie, whiche had bene taken in the battell, not one Turke hadde escaped. But nowe manye of them were saved by flighte. *Don Iohn, Baciago, and Loris* speedilye pursued *Occhiali*: untill that it was almoste night. But he fleeing awaye in the night time wyth *Sayles and Dares*, accompanied with sundrye Galleyes, (for the number was then vncertayne, some reporting moe and some fewer, but yet the common fame was thirtie) escaped in safetie: neyther coude it be then certainelye knowne what waye he had taken. But in the meane whyle in another quarter, *Barbadico* and *Muhamet Bey* foughte together with greate ferocitie. And albeit that euerye one of our menne didde his dutee, and foughte verye valiantlye and couragiouslye, and speciallye the leader of the battell, and also *Antonye Canali*, and *Marke Quirini*, the Liutenantes, yet they had receyued greate incommodie, and doubtlesse had bene in no small daunger, if *Aluaro Baciago*, that ledde the reerwarde, hadde not speedilye come wyth succour. By hys coming, the fighte was farre moze sharplye renewed, and they did charge the aduerser parte with suche force and violence, that they discomfited them: wherein they were also holpen by a fortunate wynde whiche blew with vs, and caried the smoke of our ordinaunce vpon the ennemye, and hidde beate backe theirs vpon themselves, whereby their sighte was muche dyned and obscured, whereas our menne sawe them verye playnelye and perfectlye. In thys confusid fighte were manye slayne on both sides. But the manie of moste renowned fame and courage, was *Barbadico*, who was shotte into the eye with an arrowe, as he foughte verye valiantlye and lustilye, at what tyme the prowes and manneboorde of the

Venetian Lieutenants, although it were often also sene at other times, yet then certes did most specially appeare. For when they sawe that *Barbadico* was stricken in the eye with a very grieuous wounde, and that he was so unpeached by the immeasurable gricfe thereof (although that he suppressed it with surpassing stoutnesse of heart) that he coulde not anye longer execute that which he had a litle before done, so stoutly and excellently: they did so performe the dueties of stout Captaines and souldiours, that nothing was wanting in them. But *Barbadico* died that evening, and not without the sighing and sorowe of all good men. It is sayde that before he died, he asked which part had the victorie, and being tolde that our men had gotten it, and that *Selyms* nauie was part taken, and part sunken, and burnt, he gaue immortall thanks vnto God therefore, and immediately after departed most ioyfull out of this life vnto the heavenly. I cannot omit one notable acte of *Aluaro Bacchino*, that happened in this battell. He seeing a mightie Admirall galley of the Turkes to make in lustilye towarde our Admirall, layde hir abowde himselfe, and toke hir, but not without some losse of his men, and his owne target was shot in with three small pellets, and as he fought valiantly with hir, there came another ship fraught ful of noblemen of *Naples* for to helpe him. Furthermore, it chaunced, that *Iohn de Cardona* the Admirall of the *Sicilian* flete, and to whome this office was enioyned in all this voyage to go before the flete with eyght galleys to scout and learne the counsels and intents of the enimie, was entred a roade with foure galleys to execute his office a litle before the time of the confide: but he returned in good time, even then when the two fletes began to ioyne in battell, and comning vnto his place which had bene before assigned, he founde it verie open, insomuch that he was forced to take it before fiftene of the enimies galleys that approached. For when he noted howe great detriment it woulde bring, if that the enimie got in at that gappe, he by fighting with great policie and celeritie, dideschutte them from that entrie, neyther did anye one of them enter before that the Admirall came to succour *Doria*, though whose and also other mens helpe, those galleys were
taken

The Battell of Lepanto.

333

taken with small labour. There were in these four galleyes of Cardona about five hundred, of whom scarce fiftie escaped unhurt, nor any man that bare office. There were slaine in this battell on our side of all sortes, aboute eight thousande, and almost so many hurt. Men of marke slaine were these, *John*, & *Bernardine* of the noble house of Cardona in Spain, *Alonso* and *Horatio* Orsini, noble Romanes. Of the Venetian nobilitie, *Benedicto* *Superanzi*, *Catarino* *Malipetri*, *Vincent* *Euristi*, *Hieremie* and *Mayno* *Contarini*, *John* *Lauredano*, *Andrew* *Barbadica*, *Francis* *Bano*, *Marke* *Antonie* *Lando*, *Antony* *Pasqualigi*, and manie other of noble bloude. Pozeouer, *John* *Baptista*, *Benedict* *Cipri*, *John* *Chonice* *Cudemonico*, *Cydon*, *James* *Trisini* of *Vicenza*, *Hieremie* *Agazzi*, *Andrew* *Calergi*, and *Malatesta* of *Rimini*, who was wounded. Of them that were wounded, were *John* de *Austria* with an arrowe, but with a light wounde: *Paule* *Forano* with another arrowe, the *Conte* de *San Fiora*, with a pellet of a gunne, and *Traslo* *Sanello* with the same, and *Marke* *Malini*, a Captaine of the souldiours of *Malta*. And also *Thomas* de *Medici*, *Marcello* *Rosterio*, *Biffoli*, *Marcelino* *Guicciardini*, *Spina*, *Mazzingi*, *Julio* *Naldini*, *Guarano*, *Magnelli*, *John* *Maria* *Pucci*, *Tornaboni*, *Figliari*, *Federick* *Marcello*, and *Berardo*, all Gentlemen and Knights of *Florence*. But a certayne number of the enimies that were slayne, coulde scarce be knowne; bicause that very many of the were drowned, yet the same is, that fiftene thousande were slaine, five thousande taken, and unnumerable hurt. Of them that were slayn, these were the men of greatest name. *Haly* *Bassa* the high Admirall of the flæte, *Amath* *Bey* the Captaine of the *Ianizars*, *Assam* *Bey* the sonne of *Barbarossa*, with his sonne *Mehemet* *Bey* the Captaine of *Metilena*, *Gider* *Bey* the Captaine of *Scio*, *Capstan* *Bey* the Captaine of the *Rhodes*, *Prouu* *Aga* the Captaine of *Mahameda* or *Africa*, *Mustapha* *Scelubi* the high Treasurer, *Asu* *Caiga*, the Captaine of *Gallipoli*, *Tramontana* the Paister of the *Turkes* Admirall, *Caracasse*, and manie other, to set downe whose names in this place it were too long a peece of worke. Of prisoners, among other were *Malemet* *Bey*, and *Seyn* *Bey* the Admirals sonnes, *Malemet* *Bey* the Captaine of *Nigrepont*, and *Syroch* *Bey* whose wife was also taken, a woman,

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(they saye) of passing beautie. The chiefe of them that escaped, were *Parthian*, *Occhiali*, *Murate*, *Rays*, with his sonne, and *Genouese* ally. But *Carapera* a famous Pirate was gone before vnto *Cyprus* with twentie galleyes and Brigantines, parte of those 333. that came from *Constantinople*, and therefore he coule not be at this bloudie battell. The vesselles of the Turkes that escaped with *Parthian* and *Occhiali*, were after ward certainly known to be xxv. galleyes, and ten Brigantines. Of our enemies their nanie, Cxij. galleyes came into our mens power, but fortie were drowned, and of Brigantines and other sortes of vesselles, lx. were taken. But the Admirall galley which was taken among the rest, it is reported, was a wonderfull goodly and beautifull vessel, inasmuch that there is scarce anye vessel in the whole Ocean, that maye iustlye be compared vnto hir for beautie and riches. The decke of this galley (as they haue tolde me that sawe hir) is on both sides greater by thre partes than others be, and is made all of blacke Walnut tree, like vnto *Hebene* wode, checkered, and wroughte maruellous sayze wth diuers colours, and hystories of all kindes. There be also in hir many counterseytes ingraued and wrought in golde, with so cunning a hande, that it can scarce be thought that anye house in the worlde is more magnificent and stately. The inner part and the chamber or cabban glistered in euery place with ryche hangings wrought with golde twist, and diuers sortes of precious stones, and among them certayne small counterseytes wrought with wonderfull cunning. Moreover, there were also founde great store of clothes and apparell whiche were the Admirals, wrought with the needle, and adorne with silver, and with so beautifull and riche workmanshippe, that his great Lorde *Selim* himselfe coule not put on more royall and riche robes. But his rich casket with the six thousand peces of golde in it, with a yearely reuenue of thre hundredth Ducats was giuen vnto a Greke, bozn in *Macedonie*, who was the Admirall, and he was also created knight by *Don Iohn*: he had also giuen vnto him the burrell of the Turkeish standarde, the which after he was returned to *Venice* (where he had long time before dwelt

The Battell of Lepanto.

335

dwelt with his wyfe, and serued the common wealth about the *Arsenal* he solde vnto a goldsmith. Whereof when the Senate had intelligence, they redeemed it of the Goldsmith, paying a Ducate for euery ounce, that it might be layde by among the rest of the tropheys and spoiles. It was all of siluer and gullt, and that wonderfull thicke, and ingraued rounde aboute with Turkish letters. On the one side was engrauen: *God doth conduct and adorne the saythfull. In worthe enterprises God doth fauour Mahomet.* On the other side: *God hath no other God, and Mahomet is his Prophet.* But to returne vnto the Christian nauie: After that this renowned victorie was gotten, the Princes sate in counsell what was to be done, and at length after mature consultation, Don John and Colonna determined to returne vnto *Messina*, because they were not able to besiege any towne (they being all well-knowne to be strongly appointed) before that their nauie were newly furnished with a freshe supplie of souldiours, and that coulde not be now done, for that the winter was come vpon them. But the *Spaniards* repaying their nauie, waunte a Castell in *Epyrus* called *Margarita*, and also recovered the towne of *Sapputo*, the which the Turkes had wonne this summer, and now they hearing of this great overthrowe, did fearefully forsake it at the approach of the Venetian Fleet.

The Conclusion. I haue thus muche of the bloody battels of our age. Yet gentle Readers I woulde you to vnderstande that all the great battels fought in our diuelishe dayes, are not here set downe, because that the lively and faithfull description of diuers hath not bene published in print, or at the leastwise not come vnto my knowledge. As the battell fought betwene the *Colonne* and *Orsini*, mentioned by *Ionius* in the summarie of his vi. booke, wherein the *Orsini* were overthrowne. And the battell at *Syazwald*, where the *Switzers* vanquished the *Almaines*, whereof *Ionius* maketh mentio in the summarie of his vi. booke. And also the famous battels betwene the *Switzers*, in the yeare one thousand six hundredeth, twenty & nine. The two battels fought in the yeare 1559, betwene

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Selim and *Baiazet* sommes vnto *Soliman* the great Turke. The o-
uerthowne giuen in the yeare one thousande, five hundzeth, sixtie
and seuen, vnto the *Moscouse* by the *Polonian*, where seuen thou-
sande *Moscouses* were slayne, and taken prisoners, and tyn thou-
sande drowned in the river of *Dnyida*. And two conflicts by sea,
in the yeare one thousand, five hundzeth, sixtie and foure, betwene
the *Dane* and the *Swedan*. And also one ciuill battell in *Scotlande*,
at the *Long side*, where the Quene and hir fauourers were dis-
comfited. And also sundrie battells both by sea and lande, fought
in bafe *Germanie* in these late ciuill troubles, as in the yeare one
thousand, five hundzeth, seuentie and two, the *Lorde Iensu* with
almost fye thousande Frenchmen going about to enter *Mons* in
Hennawr, was ouerthowne by *Federicke* somme to the Duke of
Alua, and almost all the Frenchmen slayne. As also the nexte
yeare he defeated and toke prisoner the Baron of *Barenburg*, com-
ming with an armie well furnished, to relieue the besieged tow-
n of *Harlam*. And the battell of *Mauken* in *Cleuelande*, where the
potuer of *Lewes* Earle of *Nassau* was defeated, and himselfe, with
Christophin the *Palsgrau* some slayne, by *Sanchia Dauid* the *Ca-*
stellan of *Aniwarpe*. But on the water the Duke of *Medina Celi*
discomfited by the *Genises* befoze *Fussingen*, and sixtene of his ships
drowned, and foure taken, being shippes of infinite riches. And
also the Conte *Bossu* discomfited on the water in *Holland* by the
sayd *Genises*, who also put to flight at *Terguse* a flecte sent by *Alua*
in the yeare one thousand, five hundzeth, seuentie and thre. And
the next yeare, one of fourescore sayle sent by the *Commendadoz*
of *Casile* then Gouernour, vnder the conduct of *Iulian de Romero*,
to victuall *Middleburg*, of whome seuentene were lost. And per-
haps manie other such lyke. As agayne, I haue omitted others
other, because I doe not denie them worthie the name of pitched
feldes or battells. As the foule fight of the *Venetian* flecte vnder
the conduct of *Grsmant*, as some as euer they attached fight with
the Turke the manie, wherof *Iouius* wyiteth in the summarie of
his first booke. And the like of the *Venetian* armie by lande, condu-
cted by *Bulane*, at the first fight of *Cascon* of *Foke*. As also that no-
tious incommittible battell on *Soliman* the Turke, in his re-
turne

The Conclusion.

337

turne oute of *Persia* in the yeare one thousande, five hundred, thirtie and five, when that *Delmenthes* the *Persian* Captaine did one moste tempestuous night sodenly invade his Campe with a power of light horsemen, and five infinite *Turkes*, and rised almost the whole campe, and returned backe in safetie. For that shamesfull retire or flight of *Andrew Doria*, Admirall of the mightie name of the Emperour and *Venetians*, as soone as ever he had attached fight with a farre inferiour power of *Turkish* galleys, in the yeare one thousande, five hundred, thirtie and seven. For the discomfiture by ambushe of the power of *René* the Prince of *Orange*, by *Martin van Rossem*, neare unto *Antwarpe*, in the yeare one thousande, five hundred, fortie and two. And the battell of *Sulway* masse where the *Scottes* frantichlye fledde, feared with their owne imagination, as though the Duke of *Northfolke* who had lately roaded *Scotlande* with a godly armie, had bene now returned againe, when that they were sette vpon by *Thomas* barstarde *Daker*, and lacke of *Musgane* with one hundred men, and they had left a stake on the hill, for to make their fearefull foes belaeue it was another power appoaching. In the which conflict were taken, the Lord *Maxwell* the Generall, with a greates number of *Carles* and *Lordes*. For that lamentable losse in the yeare one thousande, five hundred, and firtie, when that the Duke of *Medina Celi* returning from the request of the *Island of Zerbi* in the coast of *Africa*, met with the innumerable *Turkish* flote, the sight whereof caused him incontinently to flee, without once striking stroke, losing xxvj. galleys, and a great number of hulkes laden with souldiours and victuals, and abandoning five thousande valiant souldiours, whome he had left in garrison in the *Isle*, to be murdered by the mercilesse *Turkes*. These conflicts, and other of lesse fame, I haue willingly and wittingly omitted, because they deserue not the name of battels: and also for that by the enarration of them, the like pleasure and profite will not rebound vnto the reader. The which two things haue

specially impelled me to collect this
painesfull worke.

Ar.j.

FINIS.

*A Table expreſſing the names of ſuch bat-
tels as are ſet forth in this Hiſtorie, alſo in
what yeare, and by whom they were
fought.*

¶ The battell of *Tarro*, fought in
the yere 1495. betwene *Charles*
the French king and the *Vene:ians*.
Out of *Iouius*. Folio. 1.

The battell of *Seminar*, fought
in the kingdom of *Naples* the ſame
yeare, betwene *Ferdinand* king of
Naples and the French power. Out
of *Iouius*. Folio. 23.

The battell of *Eboli*, foughte in
the kingdome of *Naples*, the ſame
yeare, betwene the *Neapolitan* &
French power. Out of *Iouius* fol. 27

The battell of *Terranona*, fought
in the kingdom of *Naples*, betwene
the French and the Spaniſh power,
in the yeare. 1506. Out of *Iouius*

The battell of *Gioia* fought in
the kingdome of *Naples*, betwene
the French and Spaniſh power, the
ſame yeare. Out of *Iouius*. Fol. 35.

The battell of *Cerignola*, foughte
in the kingdome of *Naples*, the
ſame yeare, betwene the Spaniſhe
and French power. Out of *Iouius*,
Folio. 38.

The battell of *Giaraſſa*, fought
in *Lumbardie* betwene *Lewes* the
French king and the *Venetians*, in
the yere 1509. Out of *Francis Guic-
ciardine*. folo. 41.

The battell of *Rauenna*, foughte
in *Romagna*, betwene the power of

the French king and the Spaniſhe,
and his confederates, in the yeare
1512. Out of *Guicciardine*. fol. 44.

The battell of *Ginghat*, foughte
in *Picardye*, in the yeare. 1513. be-
twene *Henry* the eyght, king of
Englande, and the French power.
Out of *Hall*. fol. 64.

The battell of *Nouara*, foughte
in the Duchie of *Milan*, betwene
the Frenche power, and the *Swit-
zers*, in the ſame yeare. Out of *Iou-
nius*. fol. 54.

Flodden ſielde, fought betwene
Iames the fourth, king of the *Scots*,
and the Engliſh power, in the ſame
yeare. Out of *Iouius*. fol. 67.

The battell of *Vlmo* or *Vicenza*,
fought in *Venetia*, betwene the *Span-
niſhe* and the *Venetian* powers, in
the ſame yere. Out of *Iouius*. fo. 78.

The battell of *Boryſthenes*, fought
in the yere 1514. betwene the great
Moscouite, and the *Polonian* pow-
er. Out of *Iouius*. fol. 85.

The battell of *Choû*, foughte in
Armenia, betwene *Selym* the great
Turke, and the *Sophy*, in the yeare
1514. Out of *Iouius*. fol. 90.

The battell of *Marignano*, fought
in the Duchie of *Milan*, betwene
Francis the French king, and the
Switzers, in the yeare 1515. Out of
Iouius.

The Table.

Iouius.

fol. 98.

The battell of *Synga* in *Syria*, fought betweene *Selym* the greate Turke, and *Campson* the souldan of *Aegypt*, in the yeare 1516. Out of *Iouius*. fol. 118.

The battell of *Gaza*, betweene the Turkysh and *Aegyptian* powers, the same yeare. Out of *Iouius*. fol. 126.

Three mightie battells fought in *Aegypt*, at *Rhodama*, *Cayre*, & *Nyle*, the same yeare, and in the begynnyng of the nexte, betweene *Selym* the greate Turke, and *Tumumbey* Sultan of *Aegypt*. Out of *Iouius*. fol. 150. fol. 130. fol. 137. fol. 144.

The battell of *Bycona*, in the duchye of *Milan*, fought betweene the armies of *Charles* the Emperour, and *Franck* the Frenche kyng, in the yeare. 1522. Out of *Iouius* in the lyfe of the Marques of *Pescara*.

The battell of *Pany*, fought in the yeare. 1525. betweene *Frauncis* the Frenche king, and the Emperiall power. Out of *Iouius*, in the lyfe of the Marques of *Pescara*. fol. 159.

The battell of *Nagas* in *Hungarye*, betweene *Leues* the King of *Hungarye*, and *Solyman* the great Turke, in the yeare 1526. Out of *Iouius*. fol. 186.

The battell of *Orso*, fought by sea, betweene *Philippino Doria*, and the Emperiall power, in the yeare 1527. Out of *Iouius*. fol. 189.

The battell of *Landriano*, fought in the Duchie of *Milan*, betweene the Emperiall & French powers, in the yeare 1529. Out of *Iouius*. fo. 195.

The battell of *Ermentaria*, on the sea betweene the Emperiall nauye, and a flecte of Turkysh Corsales, in the yeare. 1529. Out of *Iouius*. fol. 199.

The battell of *Gabiniano*, fought in *Tuscan*, betweene the Emperiall and Florentine powers, in the yeare 1530. Out of *Iouius*. fol. 201.

The battell of *Exech* in *Hungary*, fought betweene the Turkish power and the armye of *Ferdinande* king of *Hungarie*, in the yeare 1536. Out of *Iouius*. fol. 207.

The battell of *Buda*, fought in *Hungarie*, betweene the powers of *Solyman* the Turke, and *Ferdinande* king of *Hungarie*, in the yeare 1541. Out of *Iouius*. fol. 214.

The battell of *Ceresoles*, fought in *Piemont*, betweene the powers of the Emperour and Frenche king, in the yeare. 1544. Out of *Iouius*. fol. 219.

The battell of *Scriuia* in *Italye*, betweene the Emperiall and French powers, in the yeare 1544. Out of *Iouius*. fol. 227.

The battell of *Lochen*, fought in *Saxon*, betweene *Charles* the Emperour, and *Iohn Federicke* Duke of *Saxon*, in the yeare. 1547. Out of *Iouius*. fol. 229.

Musilite

The Table.

Murthborough fieldes, foughte in
Scotlande, betwene the English &
Scottishe powers, in the yere 1547.
Out of *Willyam Paten*. fol. 236.

The battell of *Wefer* in Germa-
nye, betwene *Morrice* Duke of Sa-
xon, and *Albert* Marques of Bran-
denburg, in the yere 1553. Out of
Natalis Comes. fol. 246.

The battell of *Martiano* in Italy,
betwene the Emperiall and French
powers, in the yere 1553. Out of
Natalis Comes. fol. 248.

The battell of *Saynt Quintynes*,
fought by the Frenche and Spanisb
powers, in the yere 1557. Out of
Natalis Comes. fol. 233.

The battell of *Graueling*, betwene
the Spanishe and Frenche powers,
in the yere 1558. Out of *Lewes Guic-
ciardini*. fol. 257.

The battell of *Dreux* in France,
fought betwene the Protestants
and Catholikes, in the yere 1562.
Out of the Commentaries of the
State of religion. fol. 264.

The battell of *Saynt Denys* in
Fraunce, betwene the Catholikes
and Protestantes, in the yere 1567.
Out of the Lord *Popellinier*. fo. 268.

The battell of *Dun* in Friseland,
betwene the Conte *Aremberge*,
and *Lewes* Earle of *Nassaw*, in the
yere 1568. Out of *Popellinier*. fo. 284.

The battell of *Hams*, betwene
the Duke of *Alua*, and the Conte
Lewes of *Nassaw*, in the yere 1568.
Out of *Popelliniere*. fol. 284.

The battell of *Bussac*, betwene
the Protestants end Catholikes in
Fraunce, in the yere 1568. Out of
Popelliniere. fol. 288.

The Battell of *Moncontour* in
France, betwene the Catholikes &
Protestants, in the yere 1569. Out
Popelliniere. fol. 269.

The battell of *Lepanto*, foughte
by sea, betwene the Christian na-
uie, vnder the conduct of *Dom Iohn
de Austria*, and the Turkish flete,
in the yere 1572. Out of *Petro
Bizari*. fol. 310.

FINIS.



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